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SIX LETTERS

TO

GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ.

RESPECTING

HIS REMARKS

ON

THE USES OF THE DEFINITIVE ARTICLE,

IN THE GREEK TEXT

OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam quam vis obtineri uti optimis possumus;—et primum quidem omni antiquitate.

CICERO.

London:

Printed by J. Hodson, Cross-Street, Hatton-Garden,

FOR F. AND C RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD; W. H. LUNN, SOHO-SQUARE; J. COOKE, OXFORD; & J. DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE.

1802.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
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1899.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE Letters being merely *supplemental* to Mr. Sharp's *Remarks**, cannot well be understood without some knowledge of that work. The following extract will supply what is most necessary; and I make it the rather, because I understand that it is already very difficult to procure a copy of Mr. Sharp's pamphlet†.

"Rule I. *When the copulative* και *connects two nouns of the same case* [*viz. nouns (either substantive, or adjective, or participles) of personal description respecting office, dignity, affinity, or connection, and attributes, properties or qualities good or ill*] *if the article* ὁ, *or any of it's cases, precedes the first of the said nouns or participles, and is*

* "Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament; containing many new proofs of the Divinity of Christ, from passages which are wrongly translated in the common English Version, by Granville Sharp, Esq. Durham, 1798."

† Further information may be obtained by consulting the British Critic for Jan. 1800. I do not know that the work has yet been noticed by any other Review. See also Musei Oxoniensis Fasciculi secund. Londini 1797.

not

not repeated before the second noun or participle, the latter always relates to the same person that is expressed or described by the first noun or participle; i. e. it denotes a further description of the first-named person as—και εθεραπευσεν αυτον, ωστε TON τυφλον KAI κωφον και λαλειν και βλεπειν. Matt. xii. 22. And again Ευλογητος Ο θεος KAI Πατηρ του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου, Ο Πατηρ των οικτιρμων KAI θεος πασης παρακλησεως. 2 Cor. i. 3. This last sentence contains two examples of the first rule. See also in 2 Cor. xi. 31, Ο θεος KAI πατηρ του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου οιδεν &c. Also in Eph. vi. 21. Τυχικος Ο αγαπητος αδελφος KAI πιστος διακονος εν κυριω. Also in Heb. iii. 1, κατανοησατε TON αποστολον KAI αρχιερεα της ομολογιας ημων Ιησουν Χριστον, &c. See also in 2 Pet. ii. 20,—εν επιγνωσει TOT κυριου KAI σωτηρος Ιησου Χσιστου, &c. And again in 2 Pet. iii. 2,—και της των αποστολων ημων εντολης TOT κυριου KAI σωτηρος. And again in 2 Pet. iii. 18,—Αυξανετε δε εν χαριτι και γνωσει TOT κυριου ημων KAI σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου· αυτω η δοξα και νυν και εις ημεραν αιωνος, αμην. Also in Philippians iv. 20,—τω δε θεω και πατρι ημων η δοξα, &c. In Rev. xvi. 15,—μακαριος Ο γρηγορων KAI τηρων τα ιματια αυτου, ινα μη γυμνος περιπατη, &c. And in Col. ii. 2,—εις επιγνωσιν του μυστηριου TOT θεου KAI πατρος και του Χριστου *, εν ω εισι παντες οι θησαυροι της σοφιας, &c. And in 1 Thes. iii. 11,—Αυτος δε Ο θεος KAI πατηρ ημων και ο κυριος ημων Ιησους Χριστος, κατευθυναι

* The distinction of persons mentioned in this sentence is preserved by the insertion of the article του before χριστου, which had been omitted before πατρος.

την ὁδον ἡμων προς ὑμας. This solemn ejaculation for the divine direction is addressed jointly to the God and Father, and to our Lord Jesus; (so that here is good authority for offering up prayers to Christ, which some have lately opposed) and the distinction of the persons is preserved (as in the last example) by again inserting the article ὁ before κυριος, which had been omitted before πατηρ. The apostle James also used the same mode of expression—θρησκεια καθαρα και αμιαντος παρα τω θεω και πατρι αὑτη εστιν, επισκεπτεθαι ορφανους και χηρας εν τη θλιψει αυτων, &c. James i. 27. And there are at least a dozen other places, viz. (Rom. xv. 6. 1 Cor. xv. 24. Gal. i. 4. Ephes. v. 20. Col. i. 3, and 12. and iii. 17. 1 Thes. i. 3. 1 Thes. iii. 13. 2 Thes. ii. 16. James iii. 9. Rev. i. 6.) wherein "*the God and Father*," is mentioned exactly according to this rule; and there is no exception or instance of the like mode of expression that I know of, which necessarily requires a construction different from what is here laid down; EXCEPT the nouns be *proper names*, or *in the plural number*; in which cases there are many exceptions; though there are not wanting examples, even of plural nouns, which are expressed exactly agreeable to this rule.

"As the examples which I have annexed to my first rule consist of texts, wherein the sense is so plain, that there can be no controversy concerning the particular persons to whom the several nouns are applicable, it will be thought, I hope, that I have already cited a sufficient number of them to authenticate and justify the rule. There

There are several other texts wherein the mode of expression is exactly similar, and which therefore do necessarily require a construction agreeable to the same rule, though the present English version has unhappily rendered them in a different sense, and has thereby concealed from the mere *English* reader many striking proofs *concerning the Godhead* (περι "της Θεοτητος," Col. ii. 9.) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The passages which Mr. Sharp speaks of in this last sentence, are

1. Acts xx. 28. Την εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου.

2. Ephesians v. 5. Εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και θεου.

3. 2 Thessalonians i. 12. Κατα την χαριν του θεου ημων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.

4. 1 Timothy v. 21. Διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.

5. 2 Timothy iv. 1. Διαμαρτυρομαι ουν εγω ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.

6. Titus

6. Titus ii. 13. Της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου.

7. 2 Peter i. 1. Εν δικαιοσυνη του θεου ἡμων και σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου.

8. Jude 4. Τον μονον δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον.

LETTER

is so far from being allowed universally to be erroneous, *that* public opinion has hardly yet learned of the matter being ever doubted of; *that* the generality of commentators should uphold the established interpretation; and *that* no notice should be taken of any thing wrong in it, in works written professedly to point out the errors of our English version; and yet we are told, that the rule, and the interpretation of those *dependent* examples, were expressly asserted by a writer so long ago as Beza? Surely, said I, Mr. Sharp has only not gone so far in the investigation as earlier critics. There must be some secret fallacy: and he is producing to us as a valuable discovery, that which his predecessors, after having for a time followed it, must have found out to be an empty phantom, and so they returned from their pursuit, and sat down again, not venturing to tell the world how idly they had been occupied.

However, I did not acquiesce in these extemporaneous notions.

The first step was, to determine to make an actual comparison of your theory with the volume of the New Testament.

But, at the same time, it occurred to me, that I should probably find some at least of those texts, the translation of which you had called in question, cited and explained by the Greek Fathers; not indeed as instances of any particular rule, but expounded by them naturally as men would

would understand any other form of expression in their native language. If Mr. Sharp's rule be true, then will their interpretations of those texts be invariably in the same sense in which he understands them; unless indeed it should appear, that some change in later times took place in the use of the article.

At this instant the note of your learned Editor, in p. 19, presented itself to my observation, and I received no small encouragement from what I had before passed over with indifference. I therefore began my researches with eagerness.

In a short time what I had gathered considerably exceeded my expectations. I thought therefore, Sir, of venturing to communicate to you, in private, the produce of my search, and to mention at the same time, the feelings from which I had been induced to set about it. With this intention in view, and desirous of making my collections more worthy of such a communication, I went on still further, and finding that in some parts my materials continued to accumulate to a degree which I conceived in general there could be little idea of, the thought occurred of a yet bolder undertaking.

I considered, that your rule had *once* at least before been laid down (though less explicitly), and nevertheless the memory of such a circumstance is almost entirely forgotten. It would be inexcusable, that it should pass by a *second* time into oblivion, without having undergone

tablished habit, the authority of great names, or an apprehension, to which *inductive* arguments must always in some degree be liable, that the next step there *might* rise up an exception to our general principle—if such an one, I say, should find *here* a sufficient number of quotations from the Fathers, in which the interpretation was uniformly correspondent to what your theory teaches, then probably this would appear to him the strongest imaginable confirmation, that the notion of any ambiguity in the form of expression in those verses, is a mistaken notion; and he would conclude, that the common translation must be given up, unless they who still maintain it, can produce reasons for so doing, of which we have as yet no conception.

But, on the other hand, should there turn out to be a considerable disagreement among these interpretations of the Fathers—then, I conceive, Sir, in spite of all other evidence, it will be thought that their assertion is not false, who declare the phrase to be ambiguous, these examples must be acknowledged to be remarkable exceptions to the general theory, and the vulgar translation cannot be proved to be erroneous.

This, Sir, is the purport of the following letters. Your rule is to be taken for granted as generally true: and we are to enquire into the antient interpretations of some particular examples. And, since I have already hinted, that my collections are not inconsiderable in extent, it can hardly fail, whatsoever their nature may turn out to be,

be, but that one party or the other of those who shall come hereafter to speak of these examples, will be supplied with a *second* important argument, which though occasionally glanced at, has never yet, I may venture to say, been drawn out at any length, the only form in which it was likely to produce a considerable effect.

But, it is obvious, that more than this which I have mentioned, might have been aimed at. I will just set down the sketch of a bolder *analysis*, the course of which, if it had been possible for us to have traced upwards, I fancy we might have satisfied the most sceptical examiner.

Let us suppose, in this case, that your rule is not the *ground-work* of our operations, that we have no knowledge of any such theory, but are wishing merely to satisfy ourselves of the true interpretation of six or seven verses in the New Testament.

If now, we had within our reach all that came from the hands of Christian Greek writers, from the times of the Apostles, suppose we say till the end of the sixth century, and found them during all that period, quoting and explaining those verses a competent number of times, and in one constant meaning; suppose also, that we could discover, that the interpretation was never murmured at, but admitted by certain heresies which were conceived to be particularly touched by it; suppose moreover, that within the lapse of those years,

matters

matters were so changed, that at one time the orthodox would rather that the expressions could have borne another signification; and lastly, suppose that all along the same expressions as those in question, and others like them, were used perpetually, and by all parties, in that *one constant meaning*—this, I imagine, Sir, would be satisfactory; there could be no longer any doubt respecting the required translation; and if, in the ignorance of all this evidence, a different one had been adopted, or a notion entertained, that the texts might, from some supposed ambiguity in the expression, admit of two interpretations, no one would deny but that either of those errors must be renounced, and men's ideas be reformed according to the standard of the primitive authorities.

And now, if after having proceeded thus far, we were struck with a philological peculiarity, appearing not only in our few original texts, but also in all those similar expressions which we had before remarked for another purpose; and not only there, but we saw also, that through the whole language, the same peculiarity was preserved wherever two personal nouns were applied to the same individual, and there only, then, at last, we should have reached your rule, the fountain-head of all those interpretations; then might we boldly declare, that the idiom was not ambiguous; seeing that it was utterly impossible, but that such a circumstance must have been detected amid all this evidence.

However,

However, if any confirmation of our conclusion were still wanting, this would be a confirmation of it, if we should find, first, that in another language (the Latin) which did not, from its natural constitution, admit of the idiom which we had discovered, the translation of those very verses that were the subject of our original enquiries, and other verses like them, had been often confounded, and was used by different authors in different significations, according to their particular purposes, or different apprehensions of its meaning: if, again, we found, that in the translation of several compositions, from the Latin into the Greek language, by contemporary writers, this property of the article was invariably observed, so that the *very same Latin* words should be rendered *differently*, accordingly as it appeared to be the mind of the author, that they should be expressive of *one*, or *two* persons: and lastly, if besides we discovered, that among *modern* writers, when the idea of an ambiguity in the *original* was once started, it had never after been suffered to sleep again, but had been taken advantage of, and pleaded continually by the interested from the sixteenth till the nineteenth century.

It is obvious, Sir, that all this we speak of, at present, merely as an ideal picture. Whether or no we shall have been able to realize any one of its features, may be a subject of future consideration.

It is time to proceed to the mention of a few other particulars.

As it will no doubt be desirable to know to what extent my researches have been carried, I have subjoined a catalogue of authors, and of the editions which I made use of*. My examination was not conducted carelessly; but that no passage has escaped me in all the ground I have gone over, where one or other of our texts may be quoted, I am very far from pretending to assume.

All the Greek authorities, I have thought it right, for several reasons, to transcribe *at length*, though many of them, as might be expected, contain nothing upon the words which are the immediate objects of our consideration. It is plain, that in an argument like ours, it is of considerable importance, if in addition to that which is on our side, we can accumulate evidence that conveys nothing *against* us.

I had also many reasons, too obvious to need explaining, why I should not confine my enquiries *exclusively* to *Greek* authorities. My Latin catalogue, however, will not be found comparatively so copious as the Greek; neither, probably, did I always exert there precisely the same degree of vigilance.

In producing my authorities on each particular verse, the *order* which I follow is the chronological: and the writer by whose chronology I have regulated myself, I

* See Appendix, No. 6.

believe

believe *invariably*, is Cave in his Historia Literaria*. I may mention also, that I have not been always scrupulous to note whether the extract was from a genuine or spurious work; and I have introduced, for instance, under the name of Chrysostom, all that is usually published in the collection of his works. The precise date of a treatise, or its genuineness, in most cases to be attended to with superstitious scrupulousness, is in our argument, generally speaking, of very inconsiderable importance.

I do not know, Sir, that any thing farther is wanting in the way of previous explanation. In my next Letter, therefore, I shall begin immediately with the production of my authorities.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Oxford 1740, 2 vol. fol.

LETTER

LETTER II.

THE reading of the common printed editions in the text which you mention as your first example (Acts xx. 28.) being merely Θεου, and this also having been the reading which is followed by our translators, I was not willing to concern myself with that passage. If του Κυριου και Θεου can be proved to be the true reading, and my collections on all your other examples should be satisfactory, then could there be no doubt, I conceived, but that this text must follow the fortunes of the rest. But, to enquire into the evidence for that reading, would be the business of another kind of criticism from that which it was my present object to be employed in. I believe, Sir, however, that very few places would have occurred in the Fathers where I should have found the verse cited in that form. I soon neglected to search: b.t the only instances I have noted, are in Theophylact. Comment. in Act. p. 169 and p. 171.

Let us, therefore, proceed to the *second* example.

1. The earliest writer whom I find quoting this passage, is Clemens Alexandrinus: but the quotation being solely

solely for a *moral* purpose, nothing appears of the meaning in which he would have interpreted the words in question. I shall therefore content myself with a bare transcript of the sentence. Ες κορακας ἡ πορνεια· Ευ γαρ τουτο ιστε, φησιν ὁ αποστολος, ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. (Pedagog. lib. 3. c. 4. vol. i. p. 270.) Among the early *Latin* writers our verse is cited by Tertullian, and Cyprian; but for them, as *their* testimony also is, for the same reason, equally inapplicable to our present object, I shall beg leave to refer you to the first number of my Appendix.

2. The *next* reference on my list is to St. Athanasius; or rather to a homily bearing his name, which betrays itself to be younger than the heresy of Nestorius, and which therefore must have been thrust down, perhaps a century or more, *lower* in our enumeration, had it been very necessary to pursue a strictly chronological arrangement. In compliance with our general rule, we will, if you please, give it admission here. You will observe, Sir, that we shall have occasion to recur to the passage again hereafter.

Και Παυλος εν τῃ προς Τιτον επιστολῃ ουτως γραφει· επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου

Ιησου Χριστου. Οὗτος ὁ τεχθεις εκ της ἁγιας παρθενου, ὃς εστι Χριστος κυριος· τουτον τον Χριστον και κυριον, μεγαν Θεον αυτον κηρυττει, λεγων, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Παλιν εν τη προς Ρωμαιους οὗτος γραφει, ηυχομην γαρ αυτος εγω αναθεμα ειναι απο του Χριστου ὑπερ των αδελφων μου, των συγγενων μου κατα σαρκα· οἵτινες εισιν Ισραηλιται, ὡν ἡ υἱοθεσια, και ἡ δοξα, και αἱ διαθηκαι, και ἡ νομοθεσια, και ἡ λατρεια, και αἱ επαγγελιαι· ὡν οἱ πατερες, και ἐξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος το κατα σαρκα· ὁ ὡν επι παντων Θεος. Και παλιν ὁ αυτος Παυλος, πας πορνος και πλεονεκτης και μεθυσος και ακαθαρτος και ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια Κυριου και Θεου. Ὡστε αποδεδεικται τον Κυριον και Θεον ειναι, και Θεον τον Κυριον*· ει δε τουτων ουκ ανεσχη, &c. (Athanas. vol. ii. p. 413, 414.)

The text here, indeed, is not του Χριστου και Θεου, but Κυριου και Θεου. Yet, if we consider, that Κυριου is the reading (so far as is known) of no other Father, version, or manuscript, and call to mind how easily, in any single case, the abbreviated του $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$ might be converted into κυριου; moreover, when we observe, that this homily is edited by the Benedictines from a transcript (by Mill) of a *single* manuscript; and, most of all, that while, at *first sight*, the context might *appear* to *require* του κυριου, yet, in fact, του Χριστου is at least as suitable to the scope of the writer's argument, and the pertinency of his quotation (for he is encountering the dogma of the Nestorians, that our Saviour was *two distinct persons*, God and Man, and that *Jesus*, *Christ*, and *Lord*, were

* Ought not the reading here, to be, και τον Θεον κυριον?

the

the names usually appropriated to the human being); there can, I think, be little doubt but that the reading which proceeded from the hand of this writer, was του Χριστου και Θεου: and, if this be granted, of the rest there can be no dispute. He evidently understood the passage agreeably to *your* explanation.

3. After this slight specimen of Grecian interpretation, we are in some degree prepared for the hearing of a body of opposite testimony; I mean from the *Latin* Fathers, whose ignorance of Greek, united with the infelicity of their own language in the want of the article, is to be deemed, I am persuaded, the principal cause of all the trouble to which you, Sir, and I, are reduced on the present occasion. You will excuse me, therefore, if I introduce them without any very lively expressions of good-will.

In the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, among the works of St. Ambrose, the text and corresponding annotations on this passage, stand thus: "*Hoc enim scitote: quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Dei et Christi.* Quâ causâ amovenda sint hæc ostendit, quia qui talis fuerit, partem in regno cœlorum non habebit, quod est Patris et Filii."

We will take no notice, Sir, of the unusual reading "*Dei* et *Christi*," but are willing to allow, that *our* text is here understood, as in the English translation, of *two* persons, the Son, and the Father.

In

In the first place then, this Commentary has long been universally allowed not to be the work of Ambrose. The person to whom it is now-a-days generally ascribed, but with allowances for considerable accessions by later hands, is Hilarius Diaconus. But, what is much more to our purpose, there is no doubt but that it is the work of one who was ignorant of the Greek language.

The Benedictine editors, in their address to the reader, prefixed to this treatise, urge, among others, this reason as of itself a decisive proof, that Ambrose was not the author. " Ad hæc inutile fuerit, id quod nemini non est obvium, observare, nimirum, in Græcâ linguâ prorsus peregrinum extitisse illum scriptorem." (Vol. ii. Appendix p. 20,)

This writer's testimony, therefore, so far as it is *his own*, is in our present enquiry of no value. He could not be directed, by any principle worthy of *our* consideration, to derive from his *Latin* text, an explanation, equivalent to that property of the Greek article which you are contending for. We shall hereafter see how he must have explained the passage, if he had appealed to those persons who were best qualified to instruct him in the meaning of the original.

Before we quit this Commentary, I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing (I must own with more extensive designs of hostility than that of depreciating the learning of this single writer) the following passage from Mill's

Mill's Prolegomena. He is speaking of Morinus's attempt to exalt the authority of the Vulgate, by endeavouring to shew, upon the testimony of the Latin as well as the Greek Fathers, that the original text was become exceedingly corrupt. "Quemnam vero Latinorum adducit (says Mill)? "Num Hieronymum? *Ceteri enim fere* literas Græcas *ignorabant*, ideoque nec testes erant idonei: *imo certe primo Ambrosium* (seu Hilarium Diaconum, qui sub Ambrosii nomine Commentarios edidit in Epistolas Paulinas) and having quoted, as one of these testimonies of Hilary, an instance where he pretends to refer to Greek MSS. Mill adds, "Ita cœcus de coloribus. Nihil de codicibus Græcis novit Ambrosiaster." (Sec. 1318.)

4. But, the *real* Ambrose *was* a Greek Scholar? Yes: the Benedictines found, what they account a decisive argument, solely on that supposition. Does *he* then quote this verse? And if so, *how* does he understand it?

It is most true, Sir, that the verse is made use of by Ambrose, in the same sense in which we have seen it explained by Hilary.

In the treatise de Fide, where he is demonstrating the intimate union which obtains between the Father and the Son, he instances, "Accipe adhuc unum regnum, unum imperium esse Patris et Filii. Habes ad Timotheum; (1 Tim. i. 1.) *Paulus Apostolus Jesu Christi secundum imperium Dei salvatoris nostri, et Christi Jesu spei nostræ.* Unum igitur Patris et Filii regnum evidenter

est declaratum: sicut et Apostolus Paulus adseruit dicens; *Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Ergo *unum regnum*, et *una Divinitas.*" (De Fide l. 3. c. 12. p. 515.)

5. Again, still more precisely; after mentioning the remark of some unthinking Arians, who were wont to maintain, that the Son is only their *lesser God*, from the circumstance of the arrangement of the *three persons* as they are disposed in the final charge of our Saviour, "*Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*" (Mat. xxviii. 19.) He proceeds to ask: "Num quid ergo quia dicit Evangelium, *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum*, inferiorem significavit Patrem, *quia primo* Verbum Dei in principio semper esse ac fuisse memoratur? Aut cum dixit Apostolus *in regno Christi et Dei, ordinem* fecit?" (De Instit. Virginis, c. 10, p. 263, vol. ii.)

What then are we to think?

I am willing, Sir, to allow that St. Ambrose had read several Greek authors, and was well acquainted with that language. However, in making this concession, we must not lay aside the remembrance, that he still understood it only as a *foreigner.*

But, I am much more inclined to insist upon the small number of Ambrose's references to the original in all his voluminous

voluminous writings. I believe that Ambrose very seldom looked into his *Greek* testament, either for his *private* satisfaction, or the purposes of *public* instruction. Speaking to, and writing for those who understood no other language than the Latin, he is contented, except in a very few instances, to confine himself to the Latin text: which indeed, in one place, he gravely informs them was a translation from a Greek original. I think, therefore, that it is exceedingly possible that Ambrose had very rarely seen the words εν τη βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και θεου· and so, forgetting (or rather never once thinking about it) *which* of the *two* meanings of the *Latin* translation was in the intention of St. Paul at the time of writing, might unsuspectingly cite the passage in that sense which is undoubtedly the more obvious to a mere Latin reader.

But it is by no means necessary that I should lay all the stress on these possibilities. The fact may be*, that like some others of the ancient Fathers, Ambrose occasionally was not strictly scrupulous about the soundness of some of the steps of his argument, provided they were specious, suitable to his purpose, and the conclusion orthodox. I mean to say (if the likelihood of his *ignorance* of the Greek text should be denied to me) that Ambrose would, upon occasion, convert a Latin passage boldly to his advantage, though he might not be ignorant that the Greek original would hardly admit of his interpretation.

* See Bishop Horsley's Tracts against Dr. Priestley, p. 348, &c.

Thus, to go no farther than the very words which I have quoted "secundum *imperium* Dei;" the *Greek* word here is επιταγην; and an *exact* writer would therefore hardly quote this passage as a *direct* example of *his* "*imperium.*" Again; in the page immediately preceding the former of the above quotations, I do not know, whether to get *another* instance of this unity of dominion in the Father and the Son, he may not invent a passage: at least I find *no other* authority for the reading. "Et ideò ad excludendum Arianæ sacrilegium sævitatis, unum imperium Patris et Filii etiam Petrus sanctus adseruit, dicens: *Sic enim abundantius ministrabitur vobis introitus in æternum imperium Dei et Domini nostri conservatoris Jesu Christi**." Here the *imperium* is proper: for the Greek word is βασιλειαν. But *Dei et Domini* is a reading peculiar to Ambrose. And yet, after all, he does not deny, but that both these appellations *may* be understood to apply to the following *Jesu Christi.* And what then, I may add, could Ambrose have replied to me, if I could have told him, that I explained the passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians, in the *same* manner?

Yet again, in his celebrated charge against the Arians, of having corrupted the MSS. by the omission of the clause *quoniam Deus Spiritus est,* in the sixth verse of the third chapter of St. John, who (in making such a charge, whether it were true or false) that was at all in the habit of referring to the Greek Testament, would not have taken care to remark, that he might be before

* 2 Peter i. 11.

hand

hand with a rising objection, that the *Greek* text was το πνευμα, Θεος; for *Deus Spiritus est* is ambiguous, and only one of its senses is at all to the purpose of Ambrose's argument; especially too, when he must know, that a little below (chap. iv. 24) there *were* the words πνευμα ὁ Θεος*?

More examples might be set down, if more were requisite, to shew, either that Ambrose seldom considered what the original text was; or if he did know it, that he was by no means loath to conceal his knowledge, when it might suit with his purpose.

Yes Sir! For this text *was* valuable in the eyes of Ambrose for its support of the orthodox faith.

6. But before we proceed, I will set down, without any remark, another instance in which our text is found in St. Ambrose. It is in his exposition on St. Luke: "Et ideo Apostolus avaritiam dicit esse fugiendam, ne impediti, more gentili, iniquitate, malitia, impudicitia, avaritia, *ad regnum Christi* pervenire nequeamus: *Omnis enim immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*" (Vol. i. p. 1459.)

* Τι δε τουτο εστι; Καθαπερ, φησι, λεγει Πνευμα ὁ Θεος, οὑτω και ενταυθα, Πνευμα ὁ Κυριος. Αλλ' ουκ ειπε, Πνευμα ὁ Κυριος, αλλ', Ὁ Κυριος το πνευμα εστι. Πολυ δε ταυτης κακεινης της συνθηκης το μεσον. Ὁταν γαρ βουληται οὑτω λεγειν ὡς συ φης, τῳ επιθετῳ αρθρον ου προστιθησιν, αλλως δε, ιδωμεν, &c. Chrysost. Homil. 7, in 2 Cor. c. iii. v. 17.

But

But *how*, it will be asked, could Ambrose's be the favourite interpretation of the orthodox? Surely Mr. Sharp thinks that he is pleading the cause of orthodoxy, when he is contending for a directly opposite signification? Yet, Sir, I verily believe that you might have incurred some danger of being suspected of heresy, had you contended warmly for *your* interpretation, in the Latin church, ten centuries ago.

Socinianism was always a puny heresy in ancient times. A philosopher or an enthusiast now and then got puzzled, and wandered into Socinian language; or a coward apostate, in days of persecution sheltered himself from the reproaches of his brethren, in a last dishonest subterfuge; and affirmed that, in renouncing Christ, he had not denied his *God:* but these instances all were very rare. Arianism was the heresy that penetrated into the heart of the churches.

It was not, therefore, the object of the orthodox in those days, to insist upon the Scripture testimonies to the simple *Deity* of Christ. The Arian would cordially have joined with the church-man in maintaining them, in opposition to all adversaries. It was the business of the Catholic to uphold his faith by manifesting an infinite and incomprehensible union of the Son with the Father—a co-equality in the mystic unity: *or*, to *repel* the arguments of the Arians by *opposite* testimonies, and sounder interpretations. We have already seen St. Ambrose making use of our present text for *both these* purposes.

7. But,

7. But, the *general* attachment of the orthodox to the interpretation of our vulgar translation, will best be inferred from an induction of particulars. They may be had in sufficient plenty, from the days of Ambrose downwards. The three which I shall select (referring you for others to the Appendix) shall be at considerable intervals of time, to shew that the disposition was long prevalent.

Remigius in loc. p. 350. " Regnum autem Christi et Patris dixit, quia sicut est substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, ita *una* est *potestas*, *una* et æternitas, *unum* regnum."

Primasius in loc. " Contra Arianos, qui dicunt, major est qui *prior* nominatur."

Anselm. Laudunens in loc. p. 286. " Christus nunc *primo* nominatur, et postea Deus, ne secundum Arianos, æstimaretur minor Patre Filius."

To these might be added, all to the same purpose, the writer of the treatise *contra Varimadum*, published under the name of Idacius Clarus, and by Chifflet assigned to Vigilius Tapsensis, in *two* places, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, Breviarium Fidei contra Arianos; and others, it is probable, might be procured *.

8. But, did *all* the Latin writers, without exception, quote and explain the verse in *this* signification? No Sir!

* For these, and other passages, see Appendix No. 1.

not

not absolutely *all*. And little as it is that is to be found on *your* side, among those writers, I am persuaded you will agree with me in thinking, that it is, more than enough to be set against all the contrary testimony which I have had the fortune to meet with.

In the first place there is Jerome—himself an host. (Vol. iv. p. 382, Commentar. in loc.) " Ad hæc videndum quid sentire voluerit, dicens *in regno Christi et Dei*. Utrumnam aliud regnum Christi sit, et aliud Dei: an idem regnum sit Patris et Filii. Et si quidem dixisset, in regno Filii et Patris, per Filium veniremus ad Patrem: et licet esset *diversitas personarum*, tamen esset regnantium una majestas; nunc vero quum dixerit, in regno Christi et Dei, ipsum Deum et Christum *(the God Christ)* intelligamus: quia et quum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri, non erit Pater omnia in omnibus, sed Deus omnia in omnibus. Ubi autem Deus est, tam Pater quam Filius intelligi potest." I need hardly remark, Sir, that the following is the argument of this passage. There is no impropriety in calling the kingdom of heaven Christ's kingdom; for it is not written, that the *Father* in that kingdom, but that *God* shall be *all in all*. Now God is the name *common* to all the persons of the Trinity. Therefore this kingdom may be called, as it may suit the writer's purpose, the kingdom of God the Father, of God the Christ, or of God the Holy Spirit.

9. Faustinus was a contemporary of Jerome, and probably, for he spent much time in the East, familiar with the

the Greek language. It should seem, that the form of expression in the following passages, from his petition presented to the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople, is borrowed from this text; which if it should be allowed to me, there can be no doubt of the sense in which he understood the words in question. " Suaviora habuerunt propria domicilia et possessiones, quam in regno Christi beatam et perpetuam habitationem." (p. 9). Ad capiendam utique futuram in *Dei Christi regno* perpetuam beatitudinem." (p. 12.) Again p. 54) " Optans felicissimo imperio vestro securam quietem, et *in regno Christi et Dei* perpetuam beatitudinem;" and lastly (p. 55) " et in futuro *Christi filii Dei regno* perpetuam cum sanctis beatitudinem consequamini."

10. The only remaining authority which I can produce, is out of our own Alcuin. As the whole passage is a correct translation from St. Cyril of Alexandria, I need not go about to prove that the writer was well acquainted with the Greek language. " Beatus denique Cyrillus in tractatu suo inter alia ita dicit . . . . . Nos enim famuli sumus: ille vero naturaliter Dominus et Deus, licet factus sit nobiscum, et in his quæ sunt nostra *dispensative*. Præterea et beatus Paulus Christum eum nominavit et Deum, dicens: *Scitote cognoscentes, quia omnis fornicator non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*" (Confess. Fidei Felicis Episcopi, p. 1002. See also Concilium Aquisgranense Anno Christi 799, ap. Concil. vol. iv. p. 832.)

This, Sir, is the whole of my scanty stock of Latin authority for your interpretation.

11. Let us now, therefore, turn back to what is much more properly the subject of our enquiry—the testimony of the Greek writers: where we shall have the consolation to see, that no other interpretation than your's was ever heard in all the Greek churches*.

We deserted these writers, after having quoted a passage from a homily falsely ascribed to St. Athanasius. The next name on my list, is that of Basil the Great: But as my knowledge of his having quoted the words in question, is derived from Anastasius Sinaita; and as I do not find in Basil this quotation, where I am directed to look for it, we will pass by this authority for the present, and take it up from Anastasius, when we come to him in his order.

Let us see, therefore, what Chrysostom shall say.

* Had I been able, I should undoubtedly have been disposed to have consulted, on these texts, the several ancient versions, oriental and others—though it would have been, in some degree, an infringement on the *simplicity* of our argument. They might probably have afforded us some aid in *illustrating* and *confirming*. For instance, on the present example Mill tells us, that the Æthiopic and Arabic versions render the clause in the sense of "*the Christ and God*" (Christi Dei). But, the originals of those versions being far beyond my depth, I was not willing to appeal to their Latin translations: because, it is well known, that they are not always to be depended upon; and particularly because, for our present purpose, being usually very literal, they would still probably leave us in doubt (from the lack of the article) whether the Greek idiom were, or were not expressed in the original.—After all, the versions could only be of a very second-rate importance.

Ὁ Παυλος δε, εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος, το κατα σαρκα, φησιν, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας, αμην. Και παλιν· πας πορνος η πλεονεκτης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. Και παλιν· κατα την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Ιωαννης δε οὑτως αυτον καλει, λεγων· εν αρχη ην ὁ λογος, και ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον, και Θεος ην ὁ λογος. (De Incomprehensibili Dei Naturâ, Homil. 5. vol. i. p. 483.) This is sufficiently express.

12. The passage is quoted again by Chrysostom, (Homil. in loc. vol. xi. p. 126) but without determining any thing for our purpose.

The words which comprise the little that he gives there of direct interpretation on the passage, are at the beginning of the Homily, and stand thus.

Ησαν, ὡς εοικε, τινες και επι των προγονων των ἡμετερων, οἱ τας χειρας εκλυοντες του λαου, και το παρα του Ιεζεκιηλ ειρημενον εις εργον αγοντες, μαλλον δε τα των ψευδοπροφητων ποιουντες· (Ezech xiii. 19.) οἱ δρακος κριθων εκφαυλιζοντες τον Θεον ενωπιον του λαου αυτου. ὁ δη και νυν οιμαι παρα τινων γενεσθαι. Ὁταν ουν ειπωμεν, ὁτι ὁ μωρον καλεσας τον αδελφον, εις γεενναν απερχεται, αλλοι φασι· ναι, ὁ μωρον καλεσας τον αδελφον εις γεενναν απερχεται ; ουχι, φησι· και ὁταν ειπωμεν, ὁτι ὁ πλεονεκτης ειδωλολατρης εστι, και τουτο παλιν εκφαυλιζουσι, λεγοντες ὑπερβολης ειναι το ῥημα· και πασας οὑτω τας εντολας εξευτελιζουσι. Τουτους ουν αινιττομενος ὁ μακαριος Παυ-

λος, και τοτε εγραφεν Εφεσιοις, ούτω λεγων· τουτο γαρ ιστε γινωσκοντες, ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου· ειτα επαγει, μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω κενοις λογοις; κενοι εισιν ούτοι οἱ λογοι, οἱ προς καιρον χαριν εχοντες, and so on.

Neither is there any thing to be gathered from the remainder of the homily.

13. The two following passages of Asterius are equally indeterminate.

Ειπε και τους αποκληρονομους. Παυλος λεγει· ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. Και πὁτε ἡ κληρονομια; εις το τελος. (Asterii Homil. ii. in Psalm 5. apud Cotelerii Eccles. Græcæ Monumenta, vol. ii. p. 18.)

14. Ὡς εμαθεν ὁ Δαβιδ, ὁτι ανδρα αἱματων, και δολιον βδελυσσεται κυριος, (Psal vi. v. 7.) αυτος δε δολῳ τον Ουριαν ανειλεν, καὶ ὁτι πας πορνος η ακαθαρτος ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. ἱνα μη αποκληρονομος δια το αγος γενηται, τον ὑπερ της ογδοης, και της των νεκρων αναστασεως ψαλλων παρεκαλει. (Ibid. p. 50. Homil. in psal. 6.)

15. We shall meet with better success in Cyrillus Alexandrinus. In his Thesaurus (under the title Εκλογαι ῥητων μετα συλλογισμων εκ της καινης διαθηκης, ὁτι Θεος

Θεος κατα Φυσιν ὁ υἱος, ει δε τουτο, ου ποιημα, ουδε κτισμα—see p. 267) after quoting the verse he immediately continues: Ιδου παλιν Χριστον ονομασας ευθυς αυτον εισφερει και Θεον, ὡς του Θεου και Πατρος εν αυτῳ βασιλευοντος, αυτου τε αυ παλιν εν τῳ Πατρι. Κατα το παρ' αυτου λεγομενον, ὡς προς τον Πατερα, ὁτι παντα τα εμα σα εστι, και τα σα εμα. Ἑν δε των παντων ἡ βασιλεια, κοινη μεν υἱῳ προς πατερα, κοινη δε πατρι προς υἱον, συμβασιλευοντος δηλαδη του ἁγιου πνευματος. Πως ουν ποιημα, ὁ βασιλευων εν Πατρι, και μετα Πατρος Θεος Λογος; (Thesaur. vol. v. p. 283.)

16. Again, in the sixth of the Dialogues de Trinitate (vol. v. p. 611.) Α. Τι δε δη και μαθων ὁ των θειων ἡμιν μυστηριων ἱερουργος, Θεου βασιλειαν ωνομαζε την Χριστου; γραφει γαρ ὡδε· Τουτο γαρ ιστε γινωσκοντες, ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Ενδοιαζαιμι γαρ αν ουδαμως, ὡς ὁτῳ περ αν ενυπαρχοι Φυσικον αξιωμα, το χρηναι κραζειν, ἑψεται που και παντως αυτῳ, και το δειν ειναι Θεον. Η ουχ ὡδε ταυτ' εχειν νοησομεθα αν, ὡ Ερμεια; Β. Πανυ μεν ουν. ειη γαρ αν ειπερ ὁλως Θεος παντως που και βασιλευς. Α. Ειπερ ουν αρα καταλιξει ποτε της του βασιλευειν ευκλειας, απολισθησειεν αν και του ειναι Θεος. και ζωη μεν η Φως, ουκ ετι. σιωπω δε το ατοπον. Τις ουν αν ειη λοιπον ἡ του υἱου Φυσις, θεοτητος τε και βασιλειας, και του ειναι Φως απημφιεσμενη, και ζωοποιειν ουκ εχουσα το ζωης τυτωμενον;— Cyril is in this passage employed in refuting the objection which is made to the original dignity of Christ's person,

person, from the circumstance of St. Paul's speaking of his delivering up "the kingdom to God, even the Father." (1 Cor. xv. 24.) To remove this objection, and to shew that *Christ's* kingdom shall have no end, he argues that St. Paul, in this passage to the Ephesians applies the name of God to Christ, *on account* of that dominion. If then he shall cease to be king, he will be no longer God: neither can he be any more the everlasting light and life. The whole reasoning, therefore, is *built* upon this supposition, that Christ is here called God.

17. Again: Οικεται γαρ ἡμεις, ὁ δε κατα Φυσιν κυριος και Θεος, καν ει γεγονε μεθ' ἡμων, και εν τοις καθ' ἡμας, οικονομικως. Ταυτῃ τοι και ὁ μακαριος Παυλος, Χριστον αυτον ωνομαζε και Θεον, οὑτω λεγων· Τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Ουκουν οἱ μεν αλλοι παντες, ὡς εφην, ειεν αν και μαλα εικοτως, δια το κεχρισθαι Χριστοι, μονος δε Χριστος και Θεος αληθινος, ὁ Εμμανουηλ. (Vol. v. part ii. p. 7. of the Epistles.) This is the passage which we have already seen cited in Alcuin (No. 10 above.)

18. From the two following examples, which will finish what I have to say at present upon Cyril, I will not pretend to claim more, than that it should be granted that they contain nothing *contrary* to your interpretation.

The first is in the Thesaurus, under the title Ὁτι βασιλευς εστιν ὁ του Θεου υἱος. But as this is merely a transcript

script of the text, without any *further* comment, I shall spare myself the trouble of an extract. (See vol. v. part i. p. 381.)

19. The other is as follows: Καταθλησωμεν της σαρκος· καθαρισωμεν ἑαυτους απο παντος μολυσμου· μνημονευσωμεν της θειας λεγουσης γραφης, πορνεια δε και ακαθαρσια πασα και πλεονεξια μηδ' ονομαζεσθω εν ὑμιν καθως πρεπει ἁγιοις· και αισχροτης, και μωρολογια, η ευτραπελια ἁ ουκ ανηκοντα· αλλα μαλλον ευχαριστια· τουτο γαρ ιστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. Και παλιν—He then quotes Rom. viii. v. 12, 13, 14. and proceeds—γραφομεθα γαρ εν τεκνοις Θεου, της εν Χριστῳ πολιτειας το καλλος ταις ἑαυτων διανοιαις εισοικισαμενοι, και δια των εις ευσεβειαν σπουδασματων προς αυτον ευ μαλα διαμορφουμενοι. Ὁτε τοινυν ὑμιν οἱ της ακηραιου φυσεως χαρακτηρες ελλαμπουσι, γεγραμμεθα δε και εν τεκνοις Θεου, και αδελφοτητα πεπλουτηκαμεν, την προς γε φημι τον των ὁλων παμβασιλεα Χριστον. (De Fest. Paschal. Homil. 26. vol. v. part ii. p. 304.)

20. Theodoret's testimony to *your* interpretation is no less explicit than that of Cyril.

Και μεντοι τῳ μεσῳ της επιστολης Ιουδαιων μνημονευσας, επηγαγεν, ὡν οἱ πατερες, εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων· Αμην. (Rom. ix. 5.) Και τον αυτον κατα σαρκα μεν

μεν εξ Ιουδαιων εφη καταγειν το γενος, αιωνιον δε ειναι θεον, και παντων ἱμου των γεννητων δεσποτην, παρα των ευγνωμονων, ὑμνουμενον. Την αυτην δε ἡμιν διδασκαλιαν προσηνεγκεν και δι' ὡν τῳ θαυμασιῳ γεγραφε Τιτῳ. Προσδεχομενοι γαρ, φησι, (Tit. ii. 13.) την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· και τον αυτον και σωτηρα, και μεγαν Θεον, και Ιησουν Χριστον προσηγορευσε. Και αλλαχου· εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Και μεντοι και τοις ποιμεσιν ὁ των αγγελων εφη χορος (Luke ii. 11.) ιδου τικτεται ὑμιν σημερον, &c. (Epist. 146. vol. iii. p. 1034.)

21. Again, to the same meaning, but with a slight variation in the reading; which, however, one may affirm, did not originate in any such cause as that of a purpose of *accommodating* the passage to his service: Οτι γαρ πολλαχου Θεον τον υἱον ονομαζει, (he is speaking of St. Paul) ῥαδιον εκ των αυτου γραμματων καταμαθειν τον βουλομενον. Προσδεχομενοι γαρ φησι, την επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· και, εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος, το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος· και, εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ Χριστου του Θεου· και μυρια τοιαυτα ἑτερα. (vol. iii. p. 158. Comment. in Epist. 1 ad Cor. c. viii. v. 6.) Here Χριστου του Θεου is carelessly and unsuspectingly put down as the equivalent expression to του Χριστου και Θεου.

22. The following is what Theodoret writes on this verse, in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles.

It

It determines not any thing.

Τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. Τουτο και εν τη προς Κορινθιους επιστολη. (1 Cor. vi. 9 and 10.) Ειδωλολατρειαν δε την πλεονεξιαν εκαλεσε, κατα την του Κυριου φωνην· ουδεις γαρ, εφη, δυναται δυσι κυριοις δουλευειν· και, ου δυνασθε Θεῳ δουλευειν και Μαμωνᾳ. Μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω, &c. (vol. iii. p. 312.)

23. Neither is my fourth and last reference to Theodoret more determinate.

After quoting Ephes. iv. 17—22, he proceeds, Και μετ' ολιγα· τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. Ταυτα και Φιλιππησιοις επεστειλε. Το λοιπον (c. iv. 8.) αδελφοι, ὁσα εστιν αληθη, ὁσα σεμνα, &c. (Vol. iv. p. 312, De Fornicatione.)

24. In the *Quæstiones* of Anastasius, under the title, Του αγιου Βασιλειου εκ των ασκητικων, we have the following passage: Ακουσωμεν δε του αποστολου λεγοντος· Μη πλανασθε, ουτε πορνοι, ουτε ειδωλολατραι, ουτε μοιχοι, ουτε μαλακοι, ουτε αρσενοκοιται, ου μεθυσοι, ουχ ἁρπαγες βασιλειαν Θεου κληρονομησουσι. (1 Cor. vi. 9.) Και παλιν· Πας πορνος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, η ακαθαρτος, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου του Θεου

 ἡμων.

ὑμων. Μηδεις ὑμας απατατω κενοις λογοις, &c. From whatever author the above may be taken (for I have already mentioned, that if this part of the section be in Basil, it has eluded my search) I think there can be no doubt of his being a consistent evidence for your interpretation; and that we have only to regret the carelessness and want of exactness so frequent in quotations, and which, in the present instance, is not confined merely to the words about which we are chiefly interested.

25. Our verse is again cited in the 146th page of the same work, under the 12th question, the title of which is, Τι εστιν ὁ Μαμωνας της αδικιας. The passage is as follows: Και, τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος η ακαθαρτος η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. The context, as well as the title of the question, sufficiently teaches us not to look in this place for any thing of doctrinal interpretation.

26. In the short Comment or Scholia of Jo. Damascenus * on St. Paul, he writes thus upon the 5th and 6th verses. Μη νομιζητε, φησιν, απο του βιου τη πιστει μη συμπαροντος, την πιστιν ὑμας μετοχους αποφαινειν της Χριστου βασιλειας, ἥτις εστι του Θεου βασιλεια· μηδε τις απαταται κενῳ λογῳ, ὡς πιστεως αληθους ουσης εν τοις πα-

* This Commentary is published for the first time, in the last edition of the works of Damascenus, and from a single manuscript. See the Admonitio prefixed. Of this manuscript the Editor says "Hoc solum monebo..... quin et codicem multis passim mendis scatere mutilumque esse, ut sensus sæpe impervius sit et obscurus."

ρανομως

ϱανομως βιουτι, και σωζειν αυτους δυναμενης; εφ' οις οϱγιζεται κατα του κοσμου Θεος. (Vol. ii. p. 189.) This passage is obscure from its extreme brevity. It might almost seem, that the interpretation was meant to be contradictory of your's. I fancy, however, that no more is intended, than what may correspond with the words of St. Cyril given above (No. 16). Τι δε δη μαθων . . . . Θεου βασιλειαν ωνομαζε την Χριστου.

27. The remarks on this passage, in the Commentaries which go under the names of Oecumenius and Theophylact, being derived almost entirely from what I have transcribed above out of Chrysostom, are as silent as he is upon the meaning of the words in question. (Oecumenius p. 46. vol. ii. Τουτο γαϱ ισΐε) Ησαν ισως τινες παϱ' αυτοις οἱ λεγονΐες ὁτι Φοβηϑαι θελων ὁ Θεος ταυτα απηγοϱευσε τα εκτελη· η και εξεφαυλιζον τα τοιαυτα, ουχ ἱκανα οντα εις γε ενναν εμβαλειν, οἱα και νυν γινΐαι. Τι γαϱ, Φασι, το ατοπον, ει ειπων, Μωϱε, ενοχος γενηϑεται γεεννης; και πως ἡ πλεονεξια, ειδωλολατϱεια; Τουτους ουν αινιτΐεται ὁ Αποστολος, δηλοι γαϱ ἡ επαγωγη· μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω, Φησι, κενοις λογοις, κενοις δε τοις μη ἐχουσι, &c.

28. Theophylact, p. 550. Ησαν τινες ὡς εοικεν, οἱ λεγοντες παϱ' Εφεσιοις, ὁτι Φοβηϑαι θελων ὁ Θεος ταυτα απηγοϱευσε τα ευτελη. Τι γαϱ ατοπον το ειπειν, Μωϱε, ἱνα ενοχος γενηΐαι γεεννᾳ ὁ ειπων; πως δε ὁ πλεονεκτης ειδωλολατϱης; Τουτους ουν αινιτΐεται ὁ Αποστολος· δηλοι δε και ἡ επαγωγη· Μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω κενοις, &c.

29. The last Greek authority, which I have met with, is that of Euthymius Zigabenus; who has transcribed into his Panoplia Dogmatica, the passage which we have given above (No. 15) from Cyrillus Alexandrinus. It may be found fol. 62 B. of the Latin translation.

30. Let us now review, for a moment, the ground over which we have passed. We have referred to *twenty-one* Greek passages in which the words εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου are quoted. Of these we consider *twelve* (viz. the passages in Nos. 1, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28) as determining nothing either way with respect to the meaning of those particular words: But then we observe, that it is not *for* the sake of those words that their quotations are made. The remaining nine (viz. Nos. 2, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 29) are with one voice, clear testimonies for your interpretation. That is, in fact, *all* the Greek authorities that do speak at all are on your side.

Of the *Latin* writers we refer to something more than *thirty* passages, *sixteen* of which we consider as *significant* testimonies (viz. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, three in No. 7, No. 10, and in the Appendix, Nos. 6, 7, 16, 17, 21, 24, 25.) And of these *sixteen* we may perhaps claim *three* (viz. Nos. 8, 9, 10) to your side; the rest are plainly against you.

It is to be remarked, however, that such is the nature of those *three*, that were we to determine the true sense of

of the Greek *merely* from Latin interpreters, they ought, perhaps, to be accounted of as much value as all the rest put together.

The Latins, if they confined themselves solely to their own text (and it is a known fact, that few of them *could* pass beyond it) must, from the natural order of the words almost necessarily have been led to that interpretation which we find they have adopted. And, to account for the *frequency* of their quoting this verse, we have seen, that *their* interpretation was valuable to them in controversy. Now, the Greeks also (if we for a moment exclude your rule, and suppose the passage to be as *ambiguous* to them, as it is undoubtedly in the Latin) were actuated by the *same two* inducements to have abounded in the same interpretation. For, *first*, *the order* of the words is the same. And *secondly*, they would (as might easily be shewn*) have been equally glad to have availed themselves

* Thus, for instance, the title of the 21st section of the Treatise, "De Communi essentia Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti," among the works of Athanasius (vol, ii.) is Ὅτι πρωτατπτεται του Πατρος ὁ Υἱος. Also Chrysostom, on 2 Thessal. xi. 16. Που νυν εισιν οἱ τον Υἱον ἐλαττουντες, επειδη μετα τον Πατερα εν τῃ χαριτι του λουτρου ονομαζεται; Ἰδου γαρ ενταυθα τουναντιον ἐστιν. Αυτος (φησι πρωτον) ὁ κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος, ειτα, ὁ Θεος και πατηρ του κυριου ἡμων, ὁ αγαπησας, κ. τ. ἑξ. (Vol. xi. p 532.) And, on the same verse, Theodoret (p. 389, vol. 3.) Και ταυτα δε την Αρειου και Ευνομιου βλασφημιαν ἐλεγχει, και διδασκει σαφως, ὡς ουδε ἡ ταξις των ονοματων διαφοραν αξιωματων δηλοι, τον γαρ Υἱον ενταυθα προεταξε του Πατρος, κ. τ. ἑξ. See also Theophylact and Oecumenius on the same text. Again Oecumenius on Galat. i. 1. Δια Ιησου Χριστου και Θεου πατρος. Σημειωσαι το, δια, επι πατρος και υἱου κειμενον, και πρωτον τον υἱον ονομασθεντα (vol. i. p. 719.) And to mention no more, Theophylact on another

themselves of a verse which should have supplied them with those doctrinal topics which were, by the Latin church, derived from the clause in question. How then, we mean to ask, did it happen, that no Greek ever adopted that interpretation?

To us, therefore, the question becomes this: Shall we take the explanation of a Greek passage from Greeks, or prefer, from Latin writers, not the explanation of the Greek, but of a *translation* of it into their language; which translation, though capable of *both* meanings, and so originally not a false translation, would much more naturally lead men to that sense which is contradictory of the common Grecian idiom, and the uniform voice of Grecian interpreters?

I fancy, Sir, in fine, we may safely conclude, that our English translation of this verse, we have inherited, *solely* from the Latin text, and from the Latin interpreters.

I am, Sir, &c.

other passage (1 Cor. xii. 6.) Ὁρα δε πως του Πνευματος εμνησθη πρωτον, τελευταιον δε του Πατρος, δια τους την ταξιν περιεργαζομενους. Thus far, as to the *precedency* in *naming*. The following may suffice with respect to the community of operation. Athanasius de Communi Essentia, &c. sect 35. Ὁτι μια εξουσια και δυναμις και Βασιλεια και θεοτης του Πατρος και Υιου. Theodoret on Romans, Chap. i. 7. Χαρις ὑμιν και ειρηνη απο Θεου Πατρος ἡμων, και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου. Δι ὡν ἡμας εδιδαξεν αντικρυς πατρος και υἱου την ισοτητα. (Vol. iii. p. 13.) Theophylact on Galat. c. i. v 1. . . . . Αλλα δια Ιησου χριστου, και Θεου Πατρος, του εγειραντος αυτον εκ νεκρων. Και μην αἱ Πραξεις δηλο του Πνευματος δηλουσιν αυτον αφορισθηναι εις την αποστολην· δηλον ουν, ὁτι μια εξουσια Υἱου, και Πνευματος, και Πατρος (p. 439.). And Oecumenius on St. James, i. 1. Θεου μεν Πατρος, Κυριου δε του Υἱου, ὡστε ει εξ ισου Πατρος και Υἱου δουλος, ὁμοτιμος εστι τῳ Πατρι και ὁ Υἱος, και κατ' ουσιαν, και κατ' ενεργειαν.

LETTER III.

SIR,

ON your next example (2 Thess. i. 12.) my references are few; so few, that at the most, I have not more than *one* quotation, exclusive of those which are derived from the regular commentators: and so *indeterminate*, that in all which I can produce, there is not one of the passages which is decisive, either way, with respect to the required interpretation.

We must beware, however, of laying too much stress on this *lack* of evidence, and by no means immediately regard it as a strong presumption, that the verse cannot be a testimony to the Divinity of our Saviour, merely because we do not find, that it has been ordinarily cited as such by the ancient Fathers.

The *nature* of those heresies which produced almost all the polemical writings of the ancient Church which are now extant, is sufficient to teach us not to look *there* particularly, for arguments in behalf of Christ's mere Divinity *. In the controversies of those days it would have been of little use to produce passages of Scripture

* Gregor. Nyssen. contra Eunom. vol. ii. p. 265. Ὅτι γαρ και προφηται Θεον ὁμολογουσι τον Κυριον και ευαγγελισται, και μαθηται, και αποστολοι, ουδεις ουτω των θειων αμυητος, ὡς λογῳ δεισθαι περι τουτων μαθειν.

which

which spake of Christ as God, and did not withal convey something respecting the proper nature and dignity of his person. It is those places where it is written "In the *beginning* was the Word"; where he is called the "God over all, blessed for ever," (Rom. ix. 5.) "the great God and our Saviour," (Tit. ii. 13.) "the true God, and eternal life," (1 John v. 20.) which were *then* of especial importance, and are accordingly perpetually insisted upon.

1. I do not find our present verse in any writer earlier than St. Chrysostom.

In the Homilies on this Epistle, the following is the whole of what he writes on the 12th verse.

Ὁρα· ειπεν εκει (i. e. in the 10th verse) δοξαν· ειπε και ενταυθα ειπεν ὁτι αυτοι δοξαζονται, ὡστε και καυχασθαι. ειπεν, ὁ πολλῳ πλεον ην, ὁτι και τον Θεον δοξαζουσιν. ειπεν ὁτι απολυψονται την δοξαν εκεινην· αλλα και ενταυθα φησι. του γαρ δεσποτου δοξαζομενου, και οἱ δουλοι δοξαζονται, οἱ γαρ τον δεσποτην δοξαζοντες, πολλῳ μαλλον αυτοὶ δοξαζονται, και τουτῳ αυτῳ, και χωρις τουτου, δοξα γαρ εστιν ἡ θλιψις ἡ δια Χριστον, και πανταχου δοξαν το πραγμα καλει, και ὁσῳ αν ατιμον τι παθωμεν, τοσουτῳ μαλλον γινομεθα λαμπροι. ειτα παλιν δεικνυς ὁτι και τουτο αυτο του Θεου εστι, φησι, κατα την χαριν του Θεου ἡμων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου· τουτεστι, ταυτην την χαριν ἡμιν αυτος εδωκεν ὁ Θεος, ἱνα δοξαζηται εν ἡμιν, και δοξαζῃ ἡμας εν αυτῳ. πως δοξαζεται εν ἡμιν; ὁτι ουδεν αυτου προτιμωμεν· πως δοξαζομεθα εν αυτῳ; ὁτι δυναμιν ειληφαμεν

παρ.

παρ' αυτου ὡστε μηδε ενδιδοναι τοις επαγομενοις δεινοις· ὁμου γαρ ὁταν πειρασμος συμβῃ, και ὁ Θεος δοξαζεται, και ἡμεις. αυτον μεν γαρ δοξαζουσιν, ὁτι οὑτως ἡμας ενευρωσεν· ἡμας δε θαυμαζουσιν, ὁτι ἀξιους ἑαυτους παρεσκευασαμεν· παντα δε ταυτα απο της χαριτος του Θεου γινεται. Ερωτωμεν δε ὑμας, αδελφοι, ὑπερ, &c*. (Homil. iii. in secund. Epist. ad Thessalonic. vol. xi. p. 524.)

I have designedly given this extract at considerable length, chiefly to save myself from much further trouble in writing, and you, Sir, in reading. I have already observed, that it is not in my power to produce any thing of direct and express testimony, on *either* side, respecting the interpretation of this text in the Epistle to the Thessalonians. Whatever therefore is to be gathered from my references, can only be by a comparison of the comment with the original, of the parts of each extract

* A passage or two from the same volume, may, at least, save us from misapprehending the above. In Homily III. on the 1st Epistle to Timothy, we have the following: Χαριν εχω τῳ ενδυναμωσαντι με Χριστῳ Ιησου τῳ κυριῳ ἡμων, ὁτι πιστον με ἡγησατο θεμενος εις διακονιαν. (1 Tim. i. 12.) Ὁρας πως πανταχου το ἑαυτου κατορθωμα κρυπτει, και το παν ανατιθησι ΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ, αλλ' επι τοσουτον, ἐφ' ὁσον το αντιξουσιον μη λυμηνασθαι; (p. 562.) Again, a little below: Ὁρα γαρ τι φησι. Χαριν εχω τῳ ενδυναμωσαντι με Χριστῳ Ιησου. Τουτο ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, ειτα παλιν, το αυτου, Ὁτι πιστον με ἡγησατο. See also Oecumenius and Theophylact on the same passage. Again, Chrysostom (p. 678.) on 2 Tim. ii. 1.) Ει τεκνον ει, ενδυναμου οἱς ειπον· μαλλον δε, ουκ απο των διηγηματων μονον, αλλα και απο της χαριτος του ΘΕΟΥ. ενδυναμου γαρ φησιν, ει τῃ χαριτι τῃ εν ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ. τουτεστι, δια της χαριτος του Χριστου. See also p. 724—725. In like manner Oecumenius on Rom. c. xvi. v. 20. vol. 1. p. 412. Ἡ χαρις του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου μεθ' ὑμων. Ανεμησεν αυτους της του ΘΕΟΥ χαριτος, της αει σωσασης.

among themselves, and from a review of all the extracts taken together.

Now, were any one, in such a case, to set about making the necessary remarks in writing, and to undertake to point out, and estimate all the particulars upon which a just decision must depend, he would undoubtedly be carried on to a length which must be very irksome: and after all, he could not hope to convey half of what will be readily perceived in a perusal of the passages themselves, with a moderate degree of attention. Philological probabilities are generally too subtle to be appreciated, and explained by words. They must be *felt;* they cannot be *described.* In no part of science is it more difficult to procure assent from the ignorant, or the wilful: while in none do remarks seem so tedious and impertinent to those who do not need them.

I shall hope, therefore, to be pardoned, if, through the remainder of this Letter, I produce little more than bare extracts.

2. Theodoret is my next testimony.—This is the whole of what he writes on the 11th and 12th verses:

Τουτου δη χαριν αντιβολουμεν τον των ὁλων θεον, ὡστε ὑμας αξιωθενλας της κλησεως παντων εμφορηθηναι των αγαθων ωστε ὑμας και τους της πιστεως βλαστησαι καρπους. εργον δε πιστεως ενταυθα την εν τοις παθημασιν ὑπομονην προσηγορευσεν· οὑτω γαρ, φησι, και αυτος εν ὑμιν δοξασθησεται, και υμεις αυτῳ της μελλουσης κοινωνησετε δοξης· οὑτω τη ελπιδι

των

των μελλοντων ψυχαγωγησας αυτους, εις την περι συντελειας διδασκαλιαν μεταφερει τον λογον. (Vol. iii. p. 385. Comment. in Loc.) Still we may say, at least, that nothing appears *against* us.

3. My next quotation is from the Scholia of Joannes Damascenus.

Ὁμοιον τῳ ειρημενῳ ὑπο του Κυριου. Λαμψατω το φως ὑμετερον εμπροσθεν των ανθρὸπων, ὁπως ιδωσι τα καλα εργα ὑμων, και δοξαζωσι τον πατερα ὑμων τον εν τοις ουρανοις. (Matt. v. 16.) Και τουτο δεικνυσιν εκ της χαριτος εχοντας του Θεου, το δυνασθαι τοσουτους γενεσθαι εν εργοις λαμπροις, καν γαρ τις ἡ τελειος, φησι, εν υἱοις ανθρωπων, της απο σου (Forte θεου) λειπομενος σοφιας, εις ουδεν, λογισθησεται. Ερωτωμεν δε ὑμας, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 223.) This comprehends the *whole* of his remarks on the 12th verse.

4. But, perhaps, I have nothing to offer so much to your purpose, as my next authority. It is the conclusion of the 121st of the Discourses of Theodorus Studites. These Discourses having never, as far as I know, been printed in the original Greek, I can appeal only to the Latin translation.

" Quod superest, sanctus Deus tum eum," (he is speaking of one whom he calls Brother Socrates, then lately dead) " tum nos conservet, omnique impleat benefica voluntate, ac præpotente fidei propagatione, illus-

trando per nos Domini nostri Jesu Christi nomine, nobisque per eum, secundum gratiam Dei Dominique nostri Jesu Christi, cui gloria et imperium cum Patre, ac Sancto Spiritu, nunc, et semper, in omnemque perpetuitatem. Amen." (p. 275.)

But, may we not be allowed to hazard a *conjecture*, that the latter part of the original bears something like the following form?—Οπως ενδοξασθη (or ωστε ενδοξασθηναι) το ονομα του Κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου εν ημιν, και ημεις (or ημας) εν αυτω, κατα την χαριν του Θεου ημων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, ω η δοξα και το κρατος συν Πατρι, και αγιω πνευματι νυν, και αει, και εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην.

There are therefore *two* questions; both of which, I presume, are to be answered in the *affirmative*. "Does this writer quote the Epistle to the Thessalonians?" And *secondly*, "Does he not understand the words του θεου ημων και κυριου, of *one* Person, even Jesus Christ?" For, does he not use them, just as St. Cyril of Jerusalem writes, χαριτι και Φιλανθρωπια του κυριου και θεου και σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου· ω η δοξα και το κρατος, συν τω Πατρι, και τω αγιω πνευματι εις τους αιωνας, των αιωνων. (p. 321) just as St. Basil uses, δια της δικαιοσυνης του θεου και σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου, ω η δοξα και το κρατος, εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην. (Vol. ii. p. 130.) or as St. Gregory—εις καυχημα υμιν εν ημερα της επιφανειας και αποκαλυψεως του μεγαλου θεου και αρχιποιμενος ημων Ιησου Χριστου, δι' ου και μεθ' ου η δοξα

δοξα πατρι παντοκρατορι, συν τω ἁγιῳ και ζωοποιῳ πνευματι, και νυν, και εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην. (Greg. Naz. vol. i. p. 145.)

5. Oecumenius and Theophylact, my *last* authorities, are as usual, only the counterpart of St. Chrysostom.

Ὁπως ενδοξασθῃ το ονομα του κυριου. Ει γαρ ταυτα γενηται (φησιν), ὡσπερ εν τοις ἁγιοις αυτου ενδοξασθησεται ὁ θεος, καθως ανω ειπεν, οὑτως και εν ὑμιν. δοξαζεται γαρ, καθως και ανω ειπομεν, τοιουτων ἀξιων τους δουλους αυτου· και αυτοις δε δοξα εσται το τοιουτων ηξιωσθαι. η οὑτως νοησον, ει πληρωσει το εργον της πιστεως ὑμων εν δυναμει, τουτεστιν, εν ὑπομονῃ πειρασμων, δοξασθησεται ὁ θεος εν ὑμιν, ὁτι δυνατους κατεστησε προς τουτο, και ενευρωσε, και ὑμεις εν τῳ θεῳ, ὁτι ἀξιους εδειξατε ἑαυτους της θειας αγαπης και επικουριας. Κατα την χαριν του Θεου ἡμων. Χαρις γαρ παντα ταυτα Χριστου. ου γαρ ἡμεις, φησι, προς ταυτα εσμεν ἱκανοι η ἀξιοι, αλλ' ἡ χαρις αυτου δι' ἡμων παντα κατορθοι. Ερωτωμεν δε ὑμας, &c. (Comment. in loc. vol. ii. p. 192.) That this passage may not be dismissed without all comment, let me observe, that the place to which he refers in the words καθως και ανω ειπομεν, as explaining, how *God* is glorified, speaks only of the glory of *Christ*. It may be worth our while to transcribe a part of it.

Ὁταν ελθῃ ενδοξασθηναι. Το ενδοξασθηναι, κατα δυο νοειται· ὁτι τε δοξα αυτῳ εστι το πολλους ειναι τους ἁγιους, οἱς μελλει μεταδιδοναι των αγαθων αυτου . . . . . και

και ὁτι δοξασθησεται ὑπο των ἁγιων ὁρωντων αυτον εν τῃ πατρωᾳ δοξῃ θεον παντων, και κριτην προκαθεζομενον. (P. 191.)

6. Ὁπως ενδοξασθῃ το ονομα του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου εν ὑμιν, και ὑμεις εν αυτῳ]. Εαν ταυτα τα προειρημενα γενηται ὑμιν, φησιν, ενδοξασθησεται και εν τῳ βιῳ τουτῳ το ονομα του κυριου εν ὑμιν, ὁταν γαρ ιδωσιν ὑμας ὑπομενοντας παντα πειρασμον ὑπερ της εις τον δεσποτην αγαπης, πως ουκ εσται τουτο δοξα αυτῳ, ὁτι οὑτως αγαθος εστιν, ὡστε ὑπερ αυτου αποθνησκειν τους δουλους; και ὁτι ουτω δυνατος, ὡστε ὑμας νευρωσαι προς την ὑπομονην; αλλα και ὑμεις εν αυτῳ, ὁτι οὑτω πιστοι ευρεθητε ὡστε παντα πασχειν· δοξα γαρ δουλου, το πιστον ευρεθηναι τῳ δεσποτῃ. Και αλλως δε ἡ δια Χριστον θλιψις, δοξα· ὁτι λαμπρους μαλλον ποιει, αει μεν εις θανατον παραδιδομενους, κρειττους δε θανατου δεικνυμενους.

Κατα την χαριν του θεου ἡμων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.] Και αυτο τουτο, φησι, του θεου εστι, και ουχ ἡμετερον, αλλα χαρις αυτου, το δοξαζεσθαι, φημι, και αυτον εν ἡμιν, ὁτι ουδεν αυτου προτιμωμεν, ὡς γλυκυτερου παντων, και ἡμας εν αυτῳ, ὁτι δυναμιν παρ' αυτου λαμβανομεν ὑπομενειν παντας τους πειρασμους. Ερωτωμεν δε ὑμας, &c. (Theophylact. Comment. in loc. p. 723.)

I shall merely remark, with respect to these commentators, that it is no argument against us, that they are not more explicit. For, if we had had them only to rely upon in our preceding Letter, we should have fared no better than we do here. Not one of the Commentaries conveys

conveys the meaning of the words εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου.

7. In the collections which I have made on this text, from the *Latin* Fathers, there is nothing worthy of particular notice. However, as I wish to avoid the imputation of omitting any thing which may be thought of the least consequence towards ascertaining the meaning of the passages in question, I shall transcribe them into the second number of the Appendix.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

SIR,

OF your next example (1 Tim. v. 21) I can produce *fourteen* quotations from Greek writers, and as many, at least, from the Latin. Yet, not in one instance is the passage explained as you interpret it: some of them determine nothing either way, while the greater part correspond strictly in meaning with our English translation. The matter, however, is not immediately to be given up in despair.

For, of these writers, *all* the Latin, and the Greek too, with a few exceptions, follow either the reading, του Θεου, και Ιησου Χριστου, or, του Θεου, και Χριστου Ιησου; and therefore their altered interpretation is, in fact, so far from affording any argument *against* your theory, that it is rather, in some degree, a confirmation of it. The instances will then all come under the general exception, where the second noun is a *proper* name.

It may be said, indeed, that if we adopt either of these readings of the Fathers, we fight against ourselves, and effectually disable the passage from the possibility of being produced as a testimony to the Divinity of our Saviour. No doubt. And, if either of them *can* be shewn to

to be the *true* reading, who would not adopt it? Only, the proof will not depend *merely* upon the citations of the Fathers. Recourse must also be had to manuscripts and versions. But, to undertake this, would be remote from our object: which is not to establish, or overthrow, any reading of the sacred text, but merely to bring forward the interpretations of ancient writers*.

The Greek passages in which one of the two above-mentioned readings is found, are the following:

(1) Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromat. lib. 1. p. 318.

* Notwithstanding what is said here, it cannot be supposed that we feel *unconcerned* with respect to the *reading* in this passage. The following is Wetstein's note on the word κυριου: "Omittunt, A. (Codex Alexandr.) D. (Cod. Claromont.) a primâ manu. F. (Cod. Augiens.) G. (Cod. Boernerian) 17. (Cod. Colbert.) 31. (Cod. J. Covelli.) Versio Vulg. Copt.—Clemens. Basilius de Sp. Sancto 13. Ethic. 70. Athanasius ad Serap. de Sp. Sanct. Theodoretus. Lucifer 5. Hilarius, Pelagius, probante J. Millio proleg. 638. J. A. Bengelio." To the above, Griesbach *adds* the Æthiopic Version, Hilarius Pictaviensis, and Sedulius. It is to be observed however, that all the Vienna manuscripts, collated by Prof. Alter (in number 8, besides a copy of the Slavonic version) excepting one, which passes immediately from του θεου to και των εκλεκτων αγγελων, contain the word κυριου; i. e. he mentions *no other* instance where that word is *omitted*. And this is the case also with all the Moscow manuscripts, collated by Matthæi (in number 16). I speak here only of the *Greek* copies; for each of them has besides, one copy of the *Latin version*, both of which *omit* the *Domino*. But do not the Vienna MSS. as well as the Moscow, for the most part, *belong* to the *Recensio Byzantina?*

 (2) Atha-

(2) Athanasius, Epist. 1. ad Serapion, vol. 1. p. 659.

(3) Again same Epist. p. 663.

(4) Basil Magn. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 13, vol. iii. p. 24.

(5) Again, Moral. vol. ii. p. 305.

(6) Theodoret. in loc. vol. iii. p. 485.

(7) Again, vol. iii. p. 1041.

(8) Martinus Papa. Epist. 5. Concil. Collect. vol. iii. p. 645.

(9) Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia Dogmatica, vol. ii. fol. 1, the passage of Athanasius, the same as the *second* example.

(10) Again, vol. ii. fol. 6, the passage of Basil, example 4th above. And,

(11) Antipater Bostrensis adversus infamem Originem, apud Damasceni Sacra Parallela, vol. ii. p. 771, reads, του Θεου, και ΤΟΥ κυριου Ιησου Χριστου: which equally precludes us from looking for any assistance from his testimony.

Of these examples, the 1st, 5th, 7th and 11th, give no explanation of the words του Θεου και Ιησου Χριστου; the

the rest interpret them of *two* persons, the Father, and the Son.

Now, the fact being, with respect to the *reading* in these passages, such as I have mentioned, it would be an useless piece of labour to go on to transcribe them. They are no longer any part of our materials. Besides, I am in haste to lay before you the remaining citations on this verse; as they present the only exceptions which I have found to your theory, and the only difficulty by which my researches have been perplexed and encumbered.

1. The first example is from the Homily on this passage, by St. Chrysostom.

——— επηγαγε· διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, και των εκλεκτων αγγελων, ἱνα ταυτα Φυλαξῃς χωρις προκριματος, μηδεν ποιων κατα προσκλισιν· και Φρικτως παραγγελλει λοιπον· ου γαρ επειδη Τιμοθεος ην, το τεκνον το αγαπητον, ᾐδεσθη· ὁ γαρ περι ἑαυτου μη αισχυνθεις ειπειν, Φοβουμαι μηπως αλλοις κηρυξας, αυτος αδοκιμος γενωμαι, πολλῳ μαλλον περι Τιμοθεου ουκ αν ᾐδεσθη, ουδε ᾐσχυνθη. αλλα τον μεν πατερα, και τον υἱον καλως παραλαμβανει εις μαρτυριαν· τους μεντοι εκλεκτους αγγελους τινος ἑνεκεν; απο πολλης επιεικειας· επει και Μωυσης, κ. τ. α. (Vol. xi. p. 642.)

Here, Sir, we have your *reading*, and yet an *interpretation* directly contradictory to your's.

 2. Again,

2. Again, in the Scholia of Damascenus, vol. ii p. 265, the *text* bears the same form: but however, without any *comment* on any part of the passage.

3. The Commentary of Oecumenius is again *as* express as Chrysostom.

Διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου. Ὁρα σφοδροτητα. ου γαρ επειδη Τιμοθεος ην, παραιτειται, αλλα διαμαρτυρεται, το ἑαυτου ασφαλιζομενος, ει τι των μη δεουΐων γενηται. τι δηποτε δε τον πατερα, και τον υἱον καλεσας μαρτυρας, και τους αγγελους συγκεκληκεν; ὁτι και αυτοι της κρισεως, κ. τ. λ. (Vol. ii. p. 241.) *Here* however, the text does not occur in the body of the comment; but it stands, in the form which I have mentioned, at the head of the chapter.

4. And lastly, Theophylact is as express as Oecumenius.

Διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου, και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, και των εκλεκτων αγγελων. Διαλεχθεις περι πολλων των ανωτερω, νυν ὁτι περι κρισεως ειπε, διαμαρτυρεται αυτον και λιαν φρικτως. Ου γαρ επειδη Τιμοθεος ην, ᾐδεσθη, αλλ' ησφαλισατο αυτον. Ει γαρ περι ἑαυτου ελεγε, μητως αλλοις κηρυξας, αυτος αδοκιμος γενωμαι· πολλῳ μαλλον περι Τιμοθεου ουκ αν ᾐδεσθη. Καλει δε μαρτυρα και τον πατερα, και τον υἱον, ὡς αν εν τῃ μελλουσῃ ἡμερᾳ ευαπολογητος ᾖ, ει τι γενοιτο παρα το δεον, ὡς παραγγειλας. Τους δε αγγελους τινος ἑνεκεν; κ. τ. λ. (Theoph. in loc. p. 784.

Such

Such then is *the difficulty;* and I must own, that I cannot furnish a satisfactory *solution* of it.

A few remarks however *may* be suggested.

The *first* enquiry doubtless must be, Is it *certain* that these writers really had the word κυριου?

And here, it is worth our while to remark, that it cannot be shewn from the *context*, the surest testimony of the reading of a commentator's manuscript, that any one of them had that word. It is true, we read it in our printed editions; but then we know, that continued Commentaries, such as these of which we speak, have often been very carelessly edited, with respect to the *original text;* and in that part, a common edition of the New Testament has frequently been followed by the printer, rather than the readings of his manuscript*.

It is desirable, therefore, to have had it in our power, to have consulted the best manuscripts of Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Oecumenius.

On which account, it would be wrong were I to neglect mentioning, that Matthæi, in his Greek Testament,

* See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 77. (205 Semler's edition) p. 78. (208 Semler) and also his *Animadversiones ad Examen Var. Lect. Necessar.* vol. ii. p. 867. Græc. Test. and Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 371.

has

has made use of *two* MSS. of Chrysostom, *one* of Theophylact, and *one* of Oecumenius, on this Epistle, and he does not say that any one of them omits the κυριου. Also the manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, in the library of the University of Cambridge, marked 27 in the second part of Wetstein's Greek Testament, has the same reading, and the Scholium agrees, almost word for word, with that in Oecumenius.

At the same time, I may be allowed to observe, that, if I mistake not, no manuscript of the *New Testament* has been found to contain the word κυριου, which is not considerably younger than the days of Chrysostom.

The *next* enquiry, in agitating this difficulty, would naturally be, Whether these writers have quoted this verse any where else; and if so, what is the reading, and what the interpretation?

But, unfortunately, the verse does not occur again, that I can find, in Chrysostom, nor in the Commentary of Oecumenius, nor in those of the works of Theophylact which I have had the opportunity of examining, viz. the Commentaries on the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's Epistles; his own Letters; the Institutio Regia, and a few shorter pieces.

But at least one may learn *in what sense* they *explain*, or themselves *use* the words του Θεου και κυριου, when those words occur *ordinarily* in other parts of their writings?

Why

Why Sir, *unfortunately* I am obliged to say, that I believe those words, or any form of them (as, ὁ Θεος και κυριος, τῳ Θεῳ και κυριῳ, &c.) do not occur a second time, (unless I have sought in vain) in Oecumenius, nor *more* than once, *if once*, in those works of Theophylact which I have mentioned; and even for Chrysostom, though it is a hard thing to speak safely of *four* words out of twelve huge folio volumes, yet I think that not more than one such passage can be produced from the whole of his writings.

We *have* in all the *three* such forms as the following, in speaking of *the two* Persons: viz. in Chrysostom (vol. x. p. 83.) Αυτοις επονομαζομενοι, αλλ' ουχι τῳ Χριστῳ και ΤΩΙ Θεῳ. Again (vol. x. p. 230.)—Ανοητοις δηλη ἡ διαφορα, ει και ἡ αυτη ῥησις επι του Θεου, και ΤΟΥ Χριστου, και ἡμων ειρηται. In Theophylact (in Epistolas p. 7.) Απο γουν του Θεου πατρος, και ΤΟΥ κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. In Oecumenius (vol. i. p. 537.) Βουλεται δε δηλονοτι, ὡσπερ ὁ Κυριος, και ὁ Θεος.

We *have* besides, more rarely in Chrysostom, but often enough in the two others, such forms as *these* applied invariably to *one* person. Την διδασκαλιαν του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων κοσμειν εν παντι; (Chrysost. vol. xi. p. 757.) Του κυριου και θεου ἡμων ἡ θεωρια εστιν; (Theoph. in Evangel. p. 396.) Εδογματιτε γαρ ὁτι ὁ κυριος και θεος ἡμων ουκ ανελαβε την του ανθρωπου Φυσιν τελειαν, ηγουν σωμα μετα ψυχης λογικης (Ibid. p. 566.) Και ὡς παροντων των αγαθων, οὑτω χαιρειν, και δεξαζειν τον επαγγειλαμενον

λαμβενον και παρεξοντα παντως κυριον ἡμων και θεον. (Oecumenius vol. i. p. 261.)

But, of the form του θεου και κυριου, in Theophylact I find no second example; except that such was the reading of his manuscript (if we may trust the printed edition, and a copy of Theophylact, collated by *Matthæi*) in 2 Tim. iv. 1. The Commentary certainly might suit well enough with *one* person. Thus,

Διαμαρτυρομαι ουν ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, του μελλοντος κριναι ζωντας και νεκρους.) Εφοβησε μεν τον Τιμοθεον και αλλοτε ειπων, Παραγγελλω σοι ενωπιον του θεου του ζωοποιουντος τα παντα· νυνι δε φοβερωτερον ποιει τον λογον, της κριτεως εκεινης αναμνησας. Εκεινον γαρ, φησι, τον μελλοντα ευθυνας απαιτειν, μαρτυρα ποιουμαι ὁτι ουδε τουτο απεκρυψα απο σου. Ζωντας δε και νεκρους, η ἁμαρτωλους λεγε, &c. (p. 826.)

Oecumenius, as I have already intimated, does not furnish us even with so small a matter as this.

In the single passage which I have discovered in Chrysostom, the words are evidently used of *one* person.

Και τι λεγω τον προφητην; αυτον αγω σοι τον του προφητου δεσποτην, τον κοινον ἡμων θεον και κυριον, τον Χριστον. (In Heliam et Viduam, vol. iii. p. 336.)

Indeed, there is another place, where κυριου has evidently crept in, either by the fault of the transcriber, or the

the printer; but probably of the former*. The thirteenth verse of the sixth chapter of this same Epistle to Timothy, is printed at the head of the homily, in the editions of Sir H. Savile, Fronto Ducæus, and Montfaucon, in the following form. Παραγγελλω σοι ενωπιον του Θεου του ζωοποιουντος τα παντα, και ΚΥΡΙΟΥ Ιησου Χριστου, του μαρτυρησαντος, &c. and yet, in the *context*, we find in every one of them the *true reading*, και Χριστου Ιησου. This example will help us to conceive more easily how a similar interpolation may have taken place in those other instances. Besides, in consequence of the resemblance among one another of these two verses, and 2 Tim. iv. 1. an unsteadiness and confusion in the readings has taken place in all of them.

But, in the scarcity of all the abovementioned evidence, our *last* recourse must be to *other* writers: not for examples where they may have quoted this text, and given us the *same* reading, for we have already observed, that no such places are to be found; but for *general* instances of the form ὁ θεος και κυριος. Ὁ κυριος και θεος occurs perpetually; but the number which I have found of the other form is not great. It is something, however, to see that the phrase is always used of *one* person.

1. Και τους ποδας ενιπτεν αυτων σαβανῳ περιζωσαμενος ὁ ατυφος Θεος και κυριος των ὁλων· ουκ αργυρον δη, &c. Clemens Alexandrin. Pædagog. l. ii. c. 3.

* For the two MSS. of Chrysostom, collated by Professor Matthæi, contain exactly the *same error*, and the *same detection* of it.

2. Ειτα πρωι αυτον δη τουτον τον επιφανεντα αυτῳ Θεον και Κυριον, Αγγελον ονομαζει Κυριου. Eusebii Demonstratio Evangelica, lib. i. c. 5. p. 11.

3. Φησας αποστελειν τον των ὁλων θεον και κυριον Αιγυπτιοις ανθρωπον, ὁς σωσει αυτους. (of the Father.) Ibidem l. i. c. 6. p. 20.

4. Εν γαρ τῃ αυτου γραφῃ τον χρηματιζοντα αυτῳ Θεον και κυριον διαρρηδην παρακελευσασθαι αυτῳ διδασκει. Ibid. l. iv. c. 15. p. 178.

5. Και νυν τον δευτερον μετα τον των ὁλων θεον και κυριον, αυτον δη του Θεου Λογον ἡξειν εις Αιγυπτον ἡ παρουσα προφητεια σημαινει. Of the Father. Ibid. l. vi. c. 20. p. 296.

6. Τας τε γλωσσας ἁπαντων των εθνων εν παντοιαις διαλεκτοις ανθρωπων τον ἑνα Θεον και κυριον επικαλουμενας. Ibid. l. vi. c. 25. p. 306.

7. Επι σε πεποιθα τον εμαυτου θεον και κυριον και πατερα, και πεποιθα ου νυν πρωτον αρξαμενος, &c. Ibid. l. x. a Psalmo 21, p. 500.

8. Επι πασι τουτοις προς τον ἑαυτου θεον και κυριον και πατερα την ευχην αποτεινας, &c. Ibid. p. 506.

9. Διδασκοντος του λογου ὁτι ὁ των ὁλων θεος και κυριος, ὁ κατα των Ασσυριων απειλησας τα λεγομενα, &c. Ejusdem in Hesaiæ, c. 31. vol ii. p. 480.

10. Ὁ

10. Ὁ γαρ ευσπλαγχνος θεος και κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος ουκ εβουλετο, &c. Ejusd. Histor. Ecclesiast. l. v. c. 28.

11. Παρακρουσθεις ὑπ' αυτου ΚΑΙ τον θεον τον ἑαυτου και κυριον αρνουμενου, ΚΑΙ την πιστιν ἣν και αυτος προτερον ειχε μη Φυλαξαντος. Ibid. l. vii. c. 30. ex Epistolâ Synodi contra Paulum Samosatens.

12. Ἡ επι τοις κατοιχομενοις λυπη χωραν ουχ ἑξει. ὁ δε θεος ἡμων και κυριος Ιησους Χριστος ὁ παρακαλων τους ταπεινους παρεκελη ὑμων τας καρδιας. Greg. Nyss. vol. ii. p. 1076. De Mortuis Orat.

13. Και επι τον νεον Αδαμ ελθειν, τον θεον μου και κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον, απο του παλαιου, &c. Greg. Nazianz. vol. i. p. 707. Orat. 44.

14. Κηρυττουσι γαρ ουχ ἑαυτους, αλλα τον των ὁλων θεον και κυριον, τουτ' εστι Χριστον, Cyril. Alexand. vol. iv. p. 907.

15. Ὁ μονογενης του Θεου υἱος Ιησους Χριστος ὁ Θεος και κυριος επηγγειλατο αποστειλαι τῳ γενει των ανθρωπων, τον παρακλητον. Theodoreti Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 21. Fides Arianorum apud Nicen. Thrac.

16. Ιησους δε ὁ Θεος και κυριος των ὁλων ταις πολεσι, &c, Nilus Monachus, vol. i, p. 20.

17. Τοις ηγαπηκοσι την επιφανειαν αυτου, Ιησους ὁ των ὁλων Θεος τε και κυριος στεφανον δικαιοσυνης επηγγελται, Idem, vol. i. p. 250.

18. Δεσποτη ευσεβεστατῳ και γαληνοτατῳ, νικητη, τροπαιουχῳ, υἱῳ αγαπωντι τον Θεον και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον, Κωνσταντινῳ Αυγουστῳ, &c. Martini Papæ Epist. ad Constantin. Imperat. Concil. Collectio, vol. iii, p. 625.

19. Εν ονοματι του Θεου και κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, βασιλευοντος του δεσποτου, &c. Concil. Lateranens in Concilior. Collect. vol. iii. p. 688. Anno Christi 649.

20. Ταυτα μεν ουν αυτος ὁ των ἁγιων Θεος και κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος πολυμερως τε και πολυτροπως δια των ἁγιων αυτου λαλησας πατρων περι ἑαυτου, &c. Concil. Lateran. vol. iii. p. 889. Anno Christi 649.

21. Της αναστασεως Χριστου του αληθινου Θεου και κυριου ἡμων Ιησου, του υἱου του Θεου και αρχηγου των μαρτυρων. Andr. Cretens, p. 176.

22. Και ευθεως αυτη Βερνικη, ἡ πρωην αἱμορροουσα, εν μεσῳ της ιδιας αυτης πολεως Παρνεαδος ανεστησε τῳ Θεῳ και κυριῳ στηλην χαλκην εκ χαλκου θερμηλατου. Joan. Damascen. vol. i. p. 369.

23. Δεσποταις ευσεβεστατοις και γαληνοτατοις, νικηταις, τροπαιουχοις, τεκνοις ηγαπημενοις τῳ Θεῳ και κυριῳ ἡμων Ιησου

Ιησου Χριστῳ, Κωνσταντινῳ και Ειρηνῃ Αυγουστοις, Αδριανος δουλος των δουλων του Θεου. Concil. Oecumen. 6. vol. iv. p. 80. Anno Christi 787.

24. Η ουκ ισμεν ὁτι ὁ αγαθος ἡμων θεος και κυριος, ὁ μονος αναμαρτητος, και αιρων την ἁμαρτιαν του κοσμου, ὑπο πορνης τους αχραντους ποδας ηνεσχετο και χειραπτειστθαι, και ὑπαλειφεσθαι δακρυσιν. Theodori Studitæ Epistol. p. 600.

25. Και τους λεγοντας την σαρκα του Θεου και κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου εξ ουρανων κατεληλυθεναι. Evagrii Scholastici Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 18. p. 312.

26. Τον μονον θεον και κυριον αρνουνται. Ὁθεν δειξαι βουλομενος, ὁτι εἱς εστιν ὁ παλαιας και νεας διαθηκης Θεος και κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, επηγαγεν, &c. Scholia in Epistolam D. Judæ, Vid. C. F. Matthæi Test. Græc. Cathol. Epist. p. 235.

These, Sir, are *all* the instances which I have noted. But, surely, these are not to be slighted, in determining the interpretation of the words, ενωπιον του Θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου*.

* It is obvious to remark, that the weight of these passages, whatever it be, belongs equally to our *preceding* letter. They must be considered, therefore, as transcribed, in some degree, for its sake. Also, the evidence which came before us upon (2 Thess. i. 12.) the subject of that letter, which ever way it may have appeared to incline, is plainly to be taken into the account here.—Neither must we omit to connect with *these* letters, what will occur below on St. Jude, v. 4, and St. James, c. i. v. 1.

Besides,

Besides, we might go on to produce a number of examples, which should shew, that when the writer had to designate the *two* persons, he invariably *quitted* the ὁ Θεος και κυριος, to adopt (among others) the form ὁ Θεος, και ὁ κυριος.

Such are, for instance, Ignatius, Αυτος δε ὁ Θεος και πατηρ, και ὁ κυριος Ιησους ὁ Χριστος (Epist. ad Romanos) Origen, Αλλα τον χωρισμον της ψυχης απο του Θεου, και του κυριου αυτου, και του ἁγιου πνευματος. (Commentar. in Joann. vol. ii. p. 216), Clemens Romanus (as quoted by St. Basil de Spiritu Sancto c. 29. vol. iii. p. 61.) Ζη, φησιν, ὁ Θεος, και ὁ κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, και το πνευμα το ἁγιον, and Eusebius, Επι του Θεου του παντοκρατορος, και του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου μαρτυρομεθα, δεικνυναι εχοντες, &c. (Apud Athanasium, vol. i. p. 239.)

It is now time that we should quit this text. Nor have I any thing else to say at parting, but to repeat, that I know not how the difficulty is to be removed, otherwise than by supposing that κυριου did not come from the pen either of Chrysostom, Oecumenius, or Theophylact*,

* Though still there would remain something to explain, on account of its appearing in Mr. Matthæi's manuscripts, and others; for instance, Wetstein's *Codex* 27. For these probably were the work of *Greek* transcribers. Or, is it enough to hear what Mr. Matthæi has told us? "Ut enim alii scribæ textum conformabant scholiis, ita eum alii, contra scholia, conformabant ceteris minus corruptis codicibus. Igitur etiam in Chrysostomo accidit, ut haud raro *lectio* ab ejus *interpretatione* dissentiret." Prefat. in omnes D. Pauli Epistolas.

I had

I had indeed once thought, that the appellation κυριος might, perhaps, have become so *appropriated* to our Saviour, as to be considered as a *proper* name, just as "our Lord" is sometimes among *us*: in which case του Θεου, και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου might have been understood in the same meaning, and have fallen under the same rule with του Θεου, και Ιησου Χριστου. But I have found no *other* evidence for this notion*.

Your next example (2 Tim. iv. 1.) would now require our attention: And there might seem to be some reason to hope for assistance *there* with respect to our past difficulties. But the fact is, I have met with this verse no where, but only when it takes its turn in the Commentaries of Chrysostom, Theodoret, Damascenus, Oecumenius and Theophylact: And in all these places, except the last, which I have already transcribed, the reading is not του Θεου και κυριου, which alone could make them objects for our notice; but the *common* reading (till Griesbach, who has thrown the του κυριου into his margin) of our printed editions, viz. του Θεου και του κυριου.

* Ὁριζου δε και την ἡμετεραν ευσεβειαν, διδασκων, ἑια μεν ειδεναι Θεον ἀγεννητον, τον Πατερα, ἑνα δε γεννητον Κυριον, τον Υἱον, Θεον μεν, ὁταν καθ' ἑαυτον λεγηται, προσαγορευομενον, Κυριον δε, ὁταν μετα Πατρος ονομαζηται. το μεν δια την φυσιν το δε δια την μοναρχιαν. Gregor. Nazianzen. Orat. 23. vol. i. p. 420.

Των γαρ ονοματων τα μεν εστι κοινα, τα δε ἰδια. κοινα μεν ἑνα το απαραλλακτον δειξη της ουσιας, ἰδια δε ἑνα την ἰδιοτητα χαρακτηριζη των ὑποστασεων. Το μεν ουν Πατηρ και Υἱος, ἰδιον ἑκαστης ὑποστασεως. το δε Θεος και Κυριος, κοινον. επει ουν τεθεικε κοινον ονομα το, εἰς θεος, εδειξεν και του ἰδιαζοντος, ἑνα γνωριση τινα φησιν. Chrysostom De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, vol. i. p. 482. See also vol. ii. p. 708.

It

It is, therefore, needless to transcribe the passages. Indeed, I may just remark, that there runs through the whole (excepting Damascenus, who has nothing but the bare text) a great resemblance, derived, as usual, from Chrysostom: so that Theophylact may serve as a tolerable representation of them all. There is not one of them more particular and determinate than he is.

The *Latin* Fathers, almost without any exception, here as well as in 1 Tim. v. 21, entirely omit the *Domini**.

I must not close this Letter, without apologizing for detaining you so long, to so little purpose.

I am, Sir, &c.

* See Appendix, No. 4.

LETTER V.

SIR,

"MANY modern writers understand this whole sentence" (says Dr. Samuel Clarke, speaking of Titus, c. ii. 13.) "to belong to one and the same person, viz. Christ: as if the words should have been rendered, *The appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.* Which construction, the words will indeed *grammatically* bear; as do also those in 2 Pet. i. 1. But it is much more reasonable, and more agreeable to the whole tenor of Scripture, to understand the former part of the words to relate to the Father: the word God, with any high title or epithet annexed, always signifying the Father only: See above, ch. 1. sect. 3. and my Commentary on 40 select texts, in answer to Mr. Nelson, p. 85." (Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, chap. ii. sect. 1. No. 541. p. 89. Lond. 1732.)

Again; the following is the whole of Dr. Benson's note on that passage, in his Commentary on the Epistles.—"The literal translation is, *And* (or *even*) *the appearing of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Our Saviour Jesus Christ will appear at the last day, clothed in his own glory, attended by his

Father's glory, as well as accompanied with all the angels (Mat. xvi. 27. and xxv. 31. Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26.) By "*the great God*" therefore, must be understood, the one God and Father of all, who is here, and every where else, most evidently distinguished from our Saviour Jesus Christ. And this title, "*the great God*," is never, in Scripture, applied to Jesus Christ, but frequently to the Father, and to him alone*."

Now, I believe, that no man could transcribe the above paragraphs, whatever might be his religious creed, without feeling powerfully tempted to enter his protest against the *strangenesses* of reasoning in both of them. But I have resolved to keep as clear as possible from all the *other* arguments which may be, or ever have been urged in behalf of *either* interpretation of the text; and to confine myself strictly to *my own proper* object.—Wherefore, my motive in making these extracts, was only to shew, in general, (what it needs no comment to explain) in how badly a settled state, writers so deservedly esteemed as Doctors Clarke and Benson, have suffered themselves to leave this passage; and how much more those persons who have taken their way of understanding it from *them*, must have been led by the authority of their names, than the goodness of their arguments; so that we may the less wonder, that it should be left to this late day, to examine more perfectly, what ought in

* The expression "great God" in the *New Testament* occurs (but the reading is dubious) in *one* other passage (Revelat. c. xix. v. 17.). And, as to the *interpretation*, (on the supposition of the truth of that reading) compare v. 9. of the same chapter.

reason

reason to have been the ground-work of all the rest, the philological nature of the clause in dispute.

You, Sir, at last, have boldly declared, not "that the words *will* indeed *grammatically* bear that construction," but, that they *must*, and *can* bear *no other*.

The subject of my Letter is, to enquire, whether they ever *did bear any other sense*, during the times while the Greek was a native language.

1. The *first* authority, in our order, is Clemens Alexandrinus. I shall be contented to transcribe him for his antiquity; and not stop to enquire, whether one might not also justly claim from him that interpretation which we are in quest of.

Νυν δε επεφανη ανθρωποις αυτος ουτος ὁ Λογος, ὁ μονος αμφω, θεος τε και ανθρωπος, ἁπαντων ἡμιν αιτιος αγαθων, παρ' ου το ευ ζην εκδιδασκομενοι, εις αιδιον ζωην παραπεμπομεθα· κατα γαρ τον θεσπεσιον εκεινον του Κυριου αποστολον, ἡ χαρις του θεου ἡ σωτηριος, πασιν ανθρωποις επεφανη, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εντω νυν αιωνι· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Τουτο εστι το ασμα το καινον (Psalm xcviii. 1. Apoc. v. 9.) ἡ επιφανεια ἡ νυν εκλαμψασα εν ἡμιν του εν αρχη οντος, και προοντος Λογου· επεφανη δε εναγχος ὁ προων σωτηρ· επεφανη ὁ εν τω οντι ων, ὁτι ὁ Λογος, ὁς ην προς τον θεον, διδασκαλος επεφανη, ᾧ τα παντα

 δεδη-

δεδημιουργηται· Λογος, ὁ και το ζην εν αρχη μετα του πλασαι παρασχων, ὡς δημιουργος, το ευ ζην εδιδαξεν, επιφανεις ως διδασκαλος, ἱνα το αει ζην ὑστερον ὡς Θεος χορηγηση. (Cohortat. ad Gent. vol i. p. 7.)

2. Hippolytus, in his treatise de Anti-Christo, at the end, *alludes* at least to our clause, and has left no uncertainty about the way in which he would have interpreted it.

Ταυτα σοι παρεστησα δια βραχεων αρυσαμενος, Θεοφιλε, ὁπως φυλασσων μετα πιστεως τα γεγραμμενα, και προβλεπων τα εσομενα, απροσκοπον ἑαυτον και Θεῳ και ανθρωποις φυλαξῃς, προσδεχομενος την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν του Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων, εν ᾗ αναστησας τους ἁγιους ἡμων συν αυτοις ευφρανθησεται, δοξαζων πατερα· αυτῳ ἡ δοξα εις τους ατελευτητους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην.

3. Next the works of St. Athanasius will supply us with *three* examples.

After quoting St. Matthew, i. 23. he goes on: Τι δε τουτο εστιν η θεον εν σαρκι γεγενησθαι; ἡ δε αποστολικη παραδοσις διδασκει· του μεν μακαριου Πετρου λεγοντος Χριστου ουν ὑπερ ἡμων παθοντος σαρκι· (1 Pet. iv. 1.) του δε Παυλου γραφοντος, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ἡμων, ἱνα λυτρωσηται ἡμας απο πασης ανομιας, και καθαρισῃ ἑαυτῳ λαον περιουσιον, ζηλωτην καλων εργων. (Epistola ad Adelphium Episcop.

Episcop. vol. i. p. 915.) The passage is produced, to shew, that *God* came in the *flesh*.

4. In the Treatise *De Communi Essentiâ Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, there is a section (27th) whose title is, Ὁτι μεγας Θεος εκληθη ὁ υἱος: and he produces this verse of the Epistle to Titus, and Romans c. ix. v. 5. in proof of that position.

5. The *third* quotation from the works of Athanasius, I have already transcribed, at length, in my second Letter. (See No. 2.) Only I may remark, once for all, (if it should be said, that this, and several other passages are not attributed to their *true* authors) that the matter is not of much importance; nay, that they are *then only* so many *more separate* testimonies.

6. The following is from the 15th of the Discourses on the creed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. It is that Discourse on the clause, "From thence he shall come, to judge the quick and the dead."

Ηδη και ὁ Παυλος τας δυο παρουσιας ταυτας σημαινει, γραφων προς Τιτον, και λεγων, Επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου του σωτηρος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν, και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και ευσεβως και δικαιως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Βλεπεις ὁπως ειπε πρωτην μεν, εφ' ἡν ευχαριστει· δευτεραν δε, ἡν προσδοκωμεν. (p. 224. §. 2. Catech. 15.)

A few

A few words, from the same Discourse, may serve as a Commentary on the above: He is now speaking of the dominion, and the ravages of Antichrist. Επι τρια δε ετη μονα, και μηνας ἑξ τα τοιαυτα τολμησας, ὑπο της δευτερας εξ ουρανων ενδοξου παρουσιας του μονογενους υἱου του Θεου καταργειται, του κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου, Χριστου του αληθους· ὁς ανελων τον Αντιχριστον τῳ πνευματι του στοματος αυτου, τῳ της γεεννης παραδωσει πυρι. (p. 230. sect. 12.)

7. Epiphanius is our next authority.

Θεος δε ὁ Υἱος, says he; and then goes on to add, as proofs of this assertion, Εξ ὡν φησι, ὁ Χριστος κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος·——η, ὁτι εν αρχῃ ην ὁ Λογος, και ὁ Λογος ην προς τον Θεον, και Θεος ην ὁ Λογος· η, ἱνα την διδασκαλιαν του σωτηρος ἡμων κοσμησωσιν· (Tit. ii. 10.) η, επεφανη γαρ ἡ χαρις του κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Χριστου πασιν ανθρωποις, διδασκουσα ἡμας· η, δεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· η, αυτη ἡ διακονια του πνευματος, &c. (Adversus Hæres. l. 3. tom. 1. p. 894.

This whole passage occurs also again, Ancorat. sect. 69. vol. ii. p. 74. And the verse is quoted vol. i. p. 887, 888, but without any remarks.

8. This text I find *three* times quoted in the single volume which I have examined of the Greek edition of the

the writings of Ephræm Syrus. The *first* is in a discourse on the second coming of our Saviour.

Και αυτοι (the good) ἱστανται ἱλαροι και Φαιδροι και ενδοξοι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Και τι συντομως ου λεγω τα μειζονα; κ. τ. λ. (p. τμη.)

9. Again, Τοτε οἱ την στενην και τεθλιμμενην ὁδον βαδιζαντες, και παντες οἱ γνησιως μετανοησαντες, και παντες οἱ ελεημονες και ξενοδοχοι ἱστανται ἱλαροι, μετα πολλης χαρας προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Ερχεται γαρ ἱνα ευφρανη τους αγωνιζομενους εν αγρυπνιαις, και προσευχαις, και εν νηστειαις, και ελεημοσυναις. Ερχεται ἱνα ευφρανη τους πενθουντας.—Ερχεται ουκ ετι απο γης, αλλ' απο του ουρανου ὡς αστραπη φοβερα. κ. τ. λ. (p. Τοθ.)

10. And lastly, Ὁ δε εξακολουθων τη ὁδῳ του Χριστου παντοτε χαιρει και αγαλλεται εν πνευματι ἁγιῳ προσδεχομενος την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Οιδα δε ὁτι εαν νικησῃς, ουκ εκφευξομαι της λυπης· και συ μεν απελευσῃ ευαγγελιζομενος τῳ πατρι σου τῳ Σατανᾳ, συγχαιρων τῳ εμῳ πτωματι. εγω δε αισχυνθησομαι εν τοις ουρανοις, εαν περ τουτο πραξω. (p. Τε.)

11. St. Basil the Great will likewise furnish us with a sufficient number of references.

Εστι

Εστι μεν ουν το κυριως και πρωτως μακαριστον το αληθεως αγαθον, τουτο δε εστιν ὁ Θεος· ὁθεν και Παυλος ὑπομνησιν μελλων ποιεισθαι Χριστου, κατα την επιφανειαν Φυσει του μακαριου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. μακαριον γαρ τῳ οντι το αυτοκαλον. (Homil. in Psalm. 1. p. 22. vol. i.)

12. Again: In the Treatise against Eunomius, having demanded whether St. Paul, calling Christ επι παντων Θεον, (Rom. ix. 5.) can mean, that He should be accounted greater than the Father, he continues, in the same strain, Ὁ μεγας Θεος ουκ αν ελαττων ειη ἑτερου Θεου. Ὁ αποστολος ουν ειπων περι του υἱου απεκδεχομεθα την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, μειζονα του πατρος ενοησε; του γαρ υἱου την επιφανειαν και παρουσιαν εκδεχομεθα, ου του πατρος. αδιακριτως ουν εις πατερα και εις υἱον ταυτα λεγεται, και ου παρατετηρημενως. (Contra Eunom. l. iv. vol. i. p. 294.)

13. Πλην ειτε προσκαιρος εστιν ὁ πειρασμος, βαστασατε αυτον, οἱ καλοι του Χριστου αγωνισται· ειτε και τῃ παντελει Φθορᾳ τα πραγματα παραδιδοται, μη ακηδιασωμεν προς τα παροντα, αλλ' αναμεινωμεν την ἐξ ουρανων αποκαλυψιν, και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. ει γαρ πασα ἡ κτισις λυθησεται, και μεταποιηθησεται το σχημα του κοσμου τουτου, τι θαυμαστον και ἡμας παθειν τα κοινα παθη, &c. (Basil. Mag. vol. iii. p. 231. Epistol. 139.

There

14. There is scarcely any writer of these tumultuous times, who does not stand forward to augment the number of our testimonies on this important verse.

Gregory Nyssen, after declaring that Prophets, and Evangelists, and Disciples, and Apostles, all proclaim the Deity of Christ, adds, a little below; Την δε του Εμμανουηλ ἑρμηνειαν, και την του Θωμα μετα την επιγνωσιν ὁμολογιαν, την τε του Ιωαννου μεγαλοφωνιαν, ως προδηλον ουσαν και τοις εξω της πιστεως σιωπησομαι. Αλλ' ουδε τας Παυλου φωνας δι' ακριβειας οιμαι δειν παρατιθεσθαι, ὁς ου μονον Θεον, αλλα και μεγαν Θεον, και επι παντων Θεον ονομαζει τον κυριον. προς μεν Ῥωμαιους λεγων· ὁτι ὡν οἱ πατερες, και εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας· προς δε τον μαθητην ἑαυτου Τιτον γραφει, κατα την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Τιμοθεῳ δε διαῤῥηδην βοᾳ, ὁτι ὁ Θεος εφανερωθη εν σαρκι, εδικαιωθη εν πνευματι. (Contra Eunomium. Orat. 10. vol. ii. p. 265.)

15. The same writer, in another place, recounting many *scriptural* appellations of our Saviour, evidently *refers* to this passage; and the place is valuable, being in a controversial work, and shewing, by a sort of positive evidence, what however no one could doubt of, after once considering the nature of the case, that the Arians, and other heretics of those days, *admitted your* interpretation. He does it, (says Gregory, speaking of Eumonius) with this design,

Ως αν τουτο παρ' αυτου μαθοιεν οἱ τα εκεινου μανθανοντες, ὁτι καν Θεος ὁ μονογενης ονομαζηται, και σοφια, και δυναμις, και Φως, και αληθεια, και κριτης, και βασιλευς, και επι παντων Θεος, και ΜΕΓΑΣ Θεος, και αρχων ειρηνης, και πατηρ του μελλοντος αιωνος, και παντα τα τοιαυτα, μεχρι ονοματος αυτω μονον εστιν η τιμη· ου γαρ συμμετεχει και της αξιας ἣν εμφαινει των ονοματων ἡ δυναμις. (Contra Eunom. Orat. 12. vol. ii. p. 370.)

16. Again, in a passage not very dissimilar, he speaks expressly of the Scriptures of *St. Paul.*

Ὁταν δε (μεν) το ὑποκειμενον (ὑπερκειμενον below No. 44) και ὑπερεχον παντα νουν κηρυσσῃ, τοις ὑψηλοτεροις κεχρηται των ονοματων, επι παντων Θεον, και μεγαν Θεον, και δυναμιν Θεου, και σοφιαν, και τα τοιαυτα καλων· ὁταν δε την αναγκαιως δια το ἡμετερον ασθενες, &c. (Contra Eunom. Orat. 5. vol. ii. p. 167.)

17. At another time he reckons up, at considerable length, the several names attributed to Christ in St. Paul's writings.

Αλλα δε και ειρηνην αυτον εκαλεσε, και Φως απροσιτον εν ᾧ οικει ὁ Θεος, ἁγιασμον τε και απολυτρωσιν, αρχιερεα τε μεγαν, και πατχα, ἱλαστηριον ψυχων, απαυγασμα δοξης, χαρακτηρα ὑποστασεως, και ποιητην αιωνων, βρωμα πνευματικον και πομα, και πετραν, και ὑδωρ, θεμελιον πιστεως, και γωνιας κεφαλην, και Θεου του ορατου εικονα και ΜΕΓΑΝ ΘΕΟΝ, κεφαλην τε του της εκκλησιας σωματος,

και

και της καινης κτισεως πρωτοτοκον, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 708. De Perfecta Christiani forma.)

18. And lastly, in the same treatise:

—— Εικονα δε του Θεου του αορατου τον Χριστον ονομαζων ὁ Παυλος τον επι παντων Θεον, και μεγαν Θεον (και ταυταις γαρ ταις φωναις ανακηρυττσει του αληθινου δεσποτου το μεγαλειον, λεγων, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, και, εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος, το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας) ταυτα ουν λεγων που, παιδευει, &c. (P. 719. vol. ii.)

19. In Gregory Nazianzen I have not found any thing more to our purpose than the following:

Και σωζοιτε ὡσπερ τη διδασκαλια, οὑτω και ταις ευχαις εμε τε, και το ἱερον τουτο ποιμνιον, εις ασφαλειαν εμοι, εις καυχημα ὑμιν εν ἡμερα επιφανειας και επικαλυψεως του μεγαλου Θεου και αρχιποιμενος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, δι' ου, και μεθ' ου ἡ δοξα πατρι παντοκρατορι, συν τω ἁγιῳ και ζωοποιῳ πνευματι, και νυν, και εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην. (Orat. 7. vol. i. p. 145.)

20. In the writings comprised in the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom, I find this verse quoted *fourteen* times. The abundance of my materials inclines me to wish to be as concise as possible. But, as I lay claim only to the title of an *honest compiler*, I must take care to be intelligible, tho' at the expence of being thought unwieldy and cumbersome.

Ὁ πατηρ οὐ κρινει ουδενα, αλλα πασαν την κρισιν δεδωκε τῳ υἱῳ. (John v. 22.) ουκ εντευθεν δε τουτο μονον δηλον, αλλα και εκ των ἑξης· ου μονον δε εμοι, αλλα και πασι τοις ηγαπηκοσι την επιφανειαν αυτου· (2 Tim. c. iv. v. 8.) Τινος δε εστιν ἡ επιφανεια; ακουσον αυτου λεγοντος· επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Αλλ' ἡ μεν προς τους αἱρετικους ἡμιν μαχη τελος εχει, &c. (Vol. i. p. 518. De Petit. Filior. Zebed. Homil. 8.)

21. From the same volume I have already extracted another instance in my 2d Letter. (See No. 11.)

22. Also the following is from p. 839 of the same volume.

Μηκετι ουν λεγε μεγαν και μικρον θεον, εμπιπτων εις Ελληνισμον· ει γαρ μικρος Θεος ὁ υἱος, ψευδεται Παυλος λεγων· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. ὁν ουν Παυλος καλει μεγαν Θεον, συ μη καλει μικρον. (Spuria, *De Sancta Trinitate.*)

23. Και περι ἑκατερας αυτων (the two comings of our Saviour) ηκουσατε σημερον Παυλου Τιτῳ διαλεγομενου και λεγοντος οὑτω· περι μεν της παρουσης, επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα

ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι· περὶ δὲ τῆς μελλούσης, προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ ὁ προφήτης δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἔλεγεν οὕτως, ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος, &c. (Joel ii. 31.) (Vol. ii. p. 369. De Baptismo Christi.)

24. Again, in speaking of our Saviour (vol. iii. p. 774. In Ascensionem) he is, says he, τὰ πάντα μέγας· and immediately goes on—καὶ ἀεὶ ἡ γραφὴ μετὰ προσθήκης αὐτὸν λέγει μέγαν· ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ Παῦλος, τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

25. In his Exposition on the words εὐλογήκαμεν ὑμᾶς ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου· Θεὸς κύριος, καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν, which are part of the 26th and 27th verses of the 117th Psalm, he asks—τίνος ἕνεκεν εὐλογήσατε; καὶ πόθεν μακαρισμός; ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν· ἐπέφανε γάρ, φησὶν, ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα, κ. τ. ἑξ.—προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν (i. e. in the Psalm) ὁ προφήτης τὴν σαρκωσιν θαυμάζει· ὅτι Θεὸς ὢν καὶ κύριος, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκείνης, κατηξίωσεν ἐπιφανῆναι. (Vol. v. p. 327.)

26. Ἀλλ' ἵνα λαμπροτέραν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀμαθείαν ὁ λόγος ἐλέγξῃ, μαρτυρίαν παρέξω τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου, ὅτι μέγαν Θεὸν τὸν υἱὸν καλεῖ· μέγαν δὲ Θεὸν, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλου πατρὸς υἱός. Then, after a few intervening words, he quotes

quotes our text, and concludes, ιδου μεγας Θεος αιωνιος, ὁ κατασκευασας τα ακρα της γης· και μεγας Θεὸς αιωνιος, ὁ παραγενομενος εις τον κοσμον. (Vol. v. p. 614. Spuria, In Psalm. 96.)

27. Ουκ οιδα μικρον και μεγα, αλλα μεγαν οιδα ἑνα Θεον τριαδα. Μεγας ὁ Θεος· ὁ Θεος μεγας ὁ αιωνιος, Φησιν Ησαιας (c. xxvi. 4.). Ὁ δε Παυλος, απεκδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· μεγας ὁ Θεος. Μεγας Κυριος· ὡς Φησι Δαυιδ, μεγας ὁ κυριος ἡμων, και μεγαλη ἡ ισχυς αυτου. (Vol. vi. p. 577. Spuria. In Genes. Serm. 4.

28. Αἱ μεν γαρ γραφαι δυο λεγουσι του Χριστου παρουσιας, ταυτην τε την γεγεννημενην, και την μελλουσαν. και ταυτας δηλων ὁ Παυλος ελεγεν· επεφανεν ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν, και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν· ιδου ἡ μια. ακουσον πως και την ἑτεραν δηλοι· ειπων γαρ ταυτα, επηγαγε· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Και οἱ προφηται δε ἑκατερας μεμνηνται, &c. (Vol. vii. p. 575. In Matt. Homil. 57.)

29. The next reference is purely *moral*.—Αρνησωμεθα την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, και εν τῳ μελλοντι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν

νειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Μεμνησθε εμου παντοτε, αδελφοι, και κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις, ἁς παρελαβετε παρα των μακαριων ανδρων, προφητων τε και αποστολων, και του δεσποτου των ὁλων. (Vol. viii. p. 86. Appendix. See also Joan. Hierosolymitan. p. 566.)

30. The two next examples are well worthy of observation.

Αλλ' ιδου, φησιν, (he is producing the remark of an objector on the words, και ὁ λογος ην προς τον θεον, και θεος ην ὁ λογος. (St. John c. i. v. 1.) ὁ πατηρ μετα της του αρθρου προσθηκης ειρηται· (viz. in the words προς TON Θεον) ὁ δε υἱος χωρις ταυτης· (viz. και θεος ην). Τι ουν; ὁταν ὁ αποστολος λεγῃ, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· και παλιν, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος, ιδου γαρ ενταυθα χωρις του αρθρου του υἱου εμνημονευσε; Ποιει δε τουτο και επι του πατρος· τοις γουν Φιλιππησιοις επιστελλων, οὑτω φησιν· ὁς εν μορφῃ Θεου ὑπαρχων ουχ ἁρπαγμον ἡγησατο το ειναι ισα Θεῳ. και Ῥωμαιοις δε παλιν· χαρις ὑμιν και ειρηνη απο Θεου πατρος ἡμων, και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου. αλλως τε και περιττον ην ενταυθα αυτο προστεναι, ανω συνεχως προστεθεν τῳ Λογῳ· ὡσπερ γαρ περι του πατρος λεγων, φησι, πνευμα ὁ θεος· και ουκ επειδη πνευματι το αρθρον ου προσκειται, ουκ αθετουμεν δια τουτο το ασωματον του θεου· οὑτω και ενταυθα, κἀν μη προσκειται τῳ υἱῳ το αρθρον, ου δια τουτο ἡττων θεος ὁ υἱος· τι δηποτε; θεον γαρ, &c. (Vol. viii. p. 30. Homil. 4. (al. 3) in Joann.)

I must

I must not neglect to mention that, in the above passage, I have taken the liberty to insert a note of interrogation after the word εμνημονευσε, which is not in the printed editions. But I do not see that the passage is intelligible, unless ιδου γαρ be taken interrogatively; or, at least, as slightly ironical*.

31. Ὁ μικρος ων, ου θεος, πανταχου γαρ μεγας λεγεται παρα τῃ γραφῃ. Μεγας κυριος, φησιν ὁ Δαυιδ, και αινετος σφοδρα. (Psal. xlvii. 1.) ιδου και περι του υἱου· πανταχου γαρ κυριον αυτον καλει. Και παλιν, μεγας ει συ, και ποιων θαυμασια, συ ει ὁ θεος μονος (Psal. lxxxvi. 10.). Και παλιν· μεγας ὁ κυριος ἡμων, και μεγαλη ἡ ισχυς αυτου, και της μεγαλοσυνης αυτου ουκ εστι περας. (Psalm cxlv. 3.) Αλλα ταυτα περι του πατρος· ὁ δε υἱος, φησι, μικρος. Αλλα συ τουτο λεγεις, ἡ δε γραφη τουναντιον· ὡσπερ περι του πατρος, οὑτω και περι του υἱου φησιν. Ακουε γαρ Παυλου λεγοντος, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου. Αλλ' αρα μη περι του πατρος επιφανειαν ειπεν; Ἱνα δε και μαλλον ὑμας ελεγξῃ, κατα την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου θεου προσεθηκεν. Αρα ουν μη περι του πατρος ειρηται; ουδαμως· ἡ γαρ επαγωγη ουκ αφισι λεγουσα, και την επιφανειαν

* Petr. Zinus, the Latin translator of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymius Zigabenus, understood the passage in the same manner. It is quoted by Zigabenus, and Zinus's translation runs thus: "Quid? cum Apostolus dicit, *Magni Dei et Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi*; et rursum, *Qui est in omnibus Deus, nonne* Articulum adjungit de Filio loquens? Contra de Patre verba faciens, &c." (Fol. 59, b.)

του

του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Ιδου και ὁ υἱος μεγας· πως ουν λεγεις μικρον και μεγαν; (Vol. xi. p. 235. Homil. in Epist. ad Philip. c. 2.)

Nothing, I conceive, Sir, can be more to our purpose, than the above quotation. The argument is thus: Κατα την επιφανειαν του Θεου.—Who ever heard of επιφανεια applied to the *Father?* And then, to overwhelm the Arian with ten-fold confusion, it is, την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου—the *Son* is called the *Great God.*—At last, as if startled at his own inference, he asks, But indeed, *may* not this (in spite of the επιφανεια) still be meant of the Father? To which he replies—No, *it can not; because* of the remaining words, και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. If I mistake not, Sir, *your first rule is virtually contained in this argument.*

32. The last passage which I shall fetch, at present, from Chrysostom, is out of the 5th Homily, on this Epistle to Titus.

Προσδεχομενοι, φησι, την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων. Που εισιν οἱ του πατρος ελατ̃ονα τον υἱον λεγοντες; του μεγαλου, φησι, Θεου και σωτηρος. ὁ τους εχθρους σωσας τι ουκ εργασεται τοτε ουκ* ευδοκιμουντας λαβων; του μεγαλου, φησι, θεου· το μεγας επι θεου ὁταν λεγῃ, ου προς τι μεγας

* In a similar passage (below, No. 52.) Theophylact writes, τοτε ευδοκιμουντας, without the ουκ. See also Theophylact on Romans, c. xvi. v. 20.

φησιν, αλλ' απολυτως μεγας· μεθ' ὁν ουκ αν ειη μεγας, επει προς τι εστιν· ει δε προς τι, κατα συγκρισιν, και ου φυσει μεγας· νυν δε ασυγκριτως μεγας· ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ἡμων, φησιν, ἱνα λυτρωσηται, &c. (Vol. xi. p. 759.)

33. I find also several passages sufficiently explicit in Cyril of Alexandria.

In vol. 5. (p. 298. part 1.) after quoting our verse, he proceeds—ει παντων ελπις εστιν ὁ Χριστος, εστι δε και ΘΕΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ και σωτηρ, πως ου λιαν δυσσεβεις και παραφρονες οἱ ποιημα λεγοντες τον υἱον, και εν δουλοις καταταξειν τολμωντες, τον ᾧ παντα προσεστιν ὁσα μονῃ πρεπει τῃ θειᾳ φυσει ;

34. Again; in the same vol. p. 744. (Dialog. Quod unus sit Christus.)

Ην γαρ ὁ αυτος θεος τε ὁμου και ανθρωπος. οἱ δε την ουτω σεπτην και τεθαυμασμενην οικονομιαν αποφεροντες, ουκ οιδ' ὁπως, του μονογενους, ανθρωπον αυτῳ συναπτουσι σχετιχως, τιμαις ταις θυραθεν εξωραισμενον, και αλλοτριᾳ δοξῃ λελαμπρυσμενον, και ου θεον αληθως, αλλα θεου κοινωνον και μετοχον, και υἱον ψευδωνυμον, και σωτηρα σωζομενον, και λυτρουμενον λυτρωτην· και τοι γεγραφοτος ὡδι του μακαριου Παυλου, επεφανη γαρ ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και επιεικως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου

Ιησου Χριστου.—B. Ναι Φασιν. επειδη γαρ ὁλως ηξιωθη συναφειας της προς τον Θεον λογον, μεγας και αυτος ωνομασθη Θεος, καιτοι γεγονως εκ σπερματος του Δαβιδ.—A. Βαβαι της αποπληξεως; Φασκοντες ειναι σοφοι εμωρανθησαν, κατα το γεγραμμενον. I may be allowed, Sir, just to remind you, that this is *all against the Nestorians.* It appears, therefore, that *they* also *acknowledged* your interpretation.

35. In the second part of the same volume (p. 75.), having quoted the entire passage, a little afterwards he asks: ειτα τις ὁ λεγων ουκ ειναι Θεον αληθινον τον Εμμανουηλ, του μακαριου Παυλου περι αυτου λεγοντος, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου;—

36. Also (p. 186.) υἱου δε ανθρωπου προσδοκωμενου καταβαινειν εξ ουρανων, γραφει παλιν ὁ πανσοφος Παυλος· επεφανη γαρ ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Εφη δε και ἑτερωθι, περι των εξ αἱματος Ισραηλ λογους ποιουμενος, ὁτι αυτων αἱ επαγγελιαι, και ἡ νομοθεσια, και ἡ διαθηκη, και εξ αυτων, το κατα σαρκα, Χριστος, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος, ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας. Αμην.

37. I may also insert here, in the Latin translation of Marius Mercator, another testimony from Cyril. The original Greek of this part of the treatise is lost.

Having quoted the entire verse, he continues (Cyril, vol. 5. part i. p. 792. or Mar. Mercat. p. 235.) "Ecce *Deus*, et *magnus*, plenissime nominatus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus: ipse est enim * cujus adventum gloriæ exspectantes sobrie vivere, et irreprehensibiliter festinamus. Sed si est homo theophorus quomodo sit *magnus Deus?*"

38. If we pass now from Alexandria to Antioch, we shall meet your interpretation *there* in the writings of the learned Theodoret.

One testimony from his hand we have already seen, Letter 2d. No. 20.

39. And also a *second* in the 21st number of the same Letter. But we may add, besides,

40. —— και την μακαριαν περιμενειν ελπιδα, και την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, μεθ' οὗ τῳ πατρι ἡ δοξα συν τῳ παναγιῳ πνευματι, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 931.)

41. And his brief observation on this verse, in his Commentary:—μεγαν δε Θεον ωνομασε τον Χριστον, την αἱρετικην βλασφημιαν ανελεγχων. (Vol. iii. p. 512.)

42. In the two following passages he cites *our* verse for *another* purpose: yet not *so*, but that we might collect,

* Compare Nos. 12, 33, and, below, 56.

lect, even from them, his way of understanding the clause in question.

Και τῳ μακαριῳ δε Τιτῳ περι της δευτερας γραφων επιφανειας, οὑτως ειπε· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Και Θεσσαλονικευσι δε τα παραπλησια γεγραφεν· (1 Thess. i. 9.) αυτοι γαρ περι αυτων απαγγελουσιν. κ. τ. λ. (Vol. iii. p. 1038.)

43. Και ὁ θειος αποστολος τῳ μακαριῳ Τιτῳ γραφων, τὴ προτερᾳ του σωτηρος ἡμων επιφανειᾳ και την δευτεραν συνεταξεν· επεφανη γαρ, φησιν, ἡ χαρις του θεου, &c.—to Ιησου Χριστου. (Vol. iv. p. 299.) The title of the section is, περι της δευτερας του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων επιφανειας.

44. The Emperor Justinian, in his *Edictum adversus tria Capitula*, has quoted one of the extracts which we have given above from Gregory Nyssen (viz. No. 16.) and introduces it in the following manner.

Και ὁ εν ἁγιοις δε Γρηγοριος ὁ Νυσσης επισκοπος εν τῳ κατ' Ευνομιου τεταρτῳ (Q. πεμπτῳ?) λογῳ τα αυτα ἡμας διδασκων γραφει οὑτως· Και ὡς αν μη τις τὴ ακηρατῳ Φυσει το κατα τον σταυρον παθος προστριβοιτο, δι' ἑτερων τραχοτερων την τοιαυτην ἐπανορθουται πλαννην, μεσιτην αυτον Θεου και ανθρωπων, και ανθρωπον και θεον ονομαζων, ἱν' εκ του τα δυο περι το ἑν λεγεσθαι το προσφορον νοοιτο περι ἑκατερων, περι μεν τα θειον ἡ απαθεια, περι δε το ανθρωπινον

πινον ἡ κατα το παθος οικονομια, αυτης ουν επινοιας διαιρουσης το κατα Φιλανθρωπιαν μεν ἡνωμενον, τῳ δε λογῳ διακρινομενον· ὁταν μεν το ὑπερκειμενον και ὑπερεχον παντα νουν, &c. as before. (Justiniani Imperator. Edictum. Concil. vol. iii. p. 300.)

45. The old traveller Cosmas Egyptius supplies us with, we will say, an *indeterminate* citation in the following curious passage.

Ανομια γαρ οντως μεγαλη το αθετειν τα λογια του Θεου, και αντικρυς αυτων το σφαιρικον σχημα τῳ ουρανῳ δωρεισθαι. Οἱ τοιουτοι γαρ ου δυνανται προσδεχεσθαι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ημων· ουτε βουλονται ακουσαι μετα πιστων εξ ὑψους προκαλουμενου του δεσποτου Χριστου, Δευτε οἱ ευλογημενοι του πατρος μου, κληρονομησατε την ἡτοιμασμενην ὑμιν βασιλειαν απο καταβολης κοσμου· (Matt. xxv. 34.) αλλ' αει κατα τηὐ ὑπολημψιν πλανωμενοι αστατατῳ Φορᾳ περιφερονται συν τῃ ἑαυτων σφαιρᾳ, παυλαν τουτων μη ελπιζοντες ποτε γενεσθαι. (Christianâ Opinione de Mundo, p. 155.)

46. The text occurs in another place in Cosmas, but not more to our purpose than in the former instance.

Και παλιν, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· και παλιν, ει ουν συνεγερθητε τῳ Χριστῳ, τα ανω ζητειτε· (Col. iii. 1.) This is all a chain of scriptural

ral quotations (among which, besides the above, are Heb. vi. 17. Phil. iii. 13, &c.) to prove that, εστι τις κρειττων ζωη, ισχυρα και ουρανιος, μεθ' ὁρκου, παρα Θεου παραγγελλομενη (p. 252.).

47. In the *Quæstiones* of Anastasius we have the following, in a section under the title, Του ἁγιου Βασιλειου, εκ των ασκητικων. I did not, however, meet with the place in St. Basil.

Μη γενοιτο δε ἡμας καυχασθαι ει μη εν τῳ ονοματι Ιησου Χριστου του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος των ψυχων ἡμων. Ὁτι αυτῳ πρεπει δοξα νυν και αει, και εις κ. τ. λ. (p. 124.) Though indeed this cannot properly be called a *quotation* from St. Paul, yet for our purpose, it is nearly equivalent to it.

48. The following passages from Maximus Confessor may come under the same description.—Και παρατιθεμενος Χριστῳ τῳ μεγαλῳ θεῳ και ποιητῃ των ὁλων μη διαλειποις· (Vol. ii. p. 17.) and again, παραγινομενου κατα την δευτεραν αυτου παρουσιαν εξ ουρανων δηλαδη μετα δοξης πολλης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. See also same vol. p. 36, 114, 195, &c.

49. Theodorus Studites also evidently borrows his expressions from our text, in the following passage; Εωει γαρ ηθετο ὁ Σατανας εν προθυροις ειναι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, μειζους των αἱρεσεων αναπτει τας φλογας.

Φλογας (Epistol. lib. ii. 15. p. 403). Also the title of his 112th Homily, in the Latin translation, runs thus: "De supremo die et adventu illustris Dei ac Servatoris Jesu Christi." (p. 251.) Compare (p. 133.) where he exhorts his hearers to meditate "cujusmodi adventus prælustris Dei et Servatoris, futurus."

50. The Scholia of Joannes Damascenus are silent on the whole of this passage: but Oecumenius's Commentary is as follows.

Που νυν εισιν οἱ των ανοσιων δογματων εφευρεται, οἱ φασιν ὁτι ὁ Χριστος ου Θεος; η ὁτι ελαττων του πατρος; ὡδε γαρ φανερως και ΘΕΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ τον Χριστον ὁμολογει· το δε μεγας ου προς τινα θεον μικρον αντιδιαιρειται· απαγε· αλλα απολυτως ουτως μεγας, ου μειζον τι ουκ αν τις επινοησειεν. (Vol. ii. p. 296.)

51. On the clause ουχ ἁρπαγμον ἡγησατο το ειναι ισα θεῳ (Philip. c. ii. v. 6.) Theophylact subjoins this comment.

Ὁρᾳς την ισοτητα. Πως ουν συ λεγεις ὁτι μειζων ὁ Πατηρ, ὁ δε Τἱος ελαττων; Αλλ' ὁρα την ανοητον αυτων ενστασιν. Μικρος, φασι, Θεος ων ὁ Τἱος, ουχ ἡρπασε το ειναι ισα τῳ μεγαλῳ θεῳ. Πρωτον μεν ουν, ποια γραφη διδασκει ἡμας μικρον και μεγαν θεον; ταυτα γαρ Ἑλληνων εισιν. Ὁτι δε και ὁ Τἱος μεγας θεος, ακουε Παυλου; την επιφανειαν, φησι, του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· επειτα, ει μικρος, πως ἡρπασε το γενεσθαι μεγας; (p. 592.)

52. And

52. And again, in his Exposition on the Epistle to Titus, under this 13th verse, he exclaims, Που δε εισιν οἱ τον Τἱον ελατ̓τουντες, και ουδε θεον αυτον ανεχομενοι λεγειν; Ακουετωσαν ὁτι και θεος εστι, και μεγας, το δε μεγας, επι θεου λεγεται, ου κατα συγκρισιν την προς αλλον μικρον, αλλ' απολελυμενως, ὡς φυσει αυτομεγαλου οντος. Ει δε εχθρους οντας εσωσε, τι ου δωσει τοτε, ευδοκιμουντας ἡμας ευρων; (p. 853.)

53. Euthymius Zigabenus has adopted *three* of the passages which we have already quoted above (viz. Nos. 28, 30 and 35); the *first* in his Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, chap. 17; the two latter in the Panoplia Dogmatica (Vol. ii. fol. 59 b. and fol. 25 a.)

54. Thus, Sir, have we traced the fortunes of this important text through a period of nearly a thousand years. I may now, therefore, release you from the trouble of any more *Greek* references, as soon as I shall have set down the words of an *anonymous* writer in the exposition of the Psalms edited by Balthazar Corderius. More passages, I know, might be added on this verse, to the same purport; for as I went along, tired of amassing so much, I remember that I neglected to note down one or two which fell in my way, and which I could not tell now how to recover*. But, all that more passages could

* Perhaps the following was one of them:

Και προ της παρουσιας αυτου διηθωμεν αυτω, και ψαλλοντες ικετευσωμεν αυτον. Ὁτι θεος μεγας Κυριος, και βασιλευς μεγας επι πασαν την γην. Μεγας θεος εστιν Ιησους Χριστος, καθως ὁ αποστολος λεγει εν τη επιστολη, Του μεγαλου θεου

και

could do, surely may be done as well by those which I have already produced. To come, therefore, to our last citation.

Ὅτι δε μεγας θεος εστι Χριστος, οὑτω τε ωνομασθη και παρα ταις θεοπνευστοις γραφαις, πιστωσεται λεγων ὁ μακαριος Παυλος· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. (Vol. ii. p. 946. in Psalm 94. Comm. 3.)

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55. Let us now, therefore, turn for awhile to the *Latin* writers.

If they were worth the trouble of transcribing, I might bring forward a series of places from *these* writers, almost equal in number to the Greek authorities; and all of them, as many as convey their sense of the meaning of St. Paul's words, strictly agreeing, unless perhaps in two poor exceptions, with the uniform voice of the Greek interpreters: so that it is the more to be regretted, and wondered at, that our English translators should have deprived us of that interpretation, which was the only one ever preached in all the ancient Churches.

But, with respect to *these* writers, it will be enough, in the present instance, to point out *where* the passages

και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησυ Χριστου, ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ἡμων, &c. (S. Germani, Arch. Constantinop. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Contemplatio Biblioth Patr. a Front: Ducæo. vol. ii. p. 142.)

may

may be found, and afterwards to produce a few specimens of such as receive an additional value by something more than the simple testimony of their agreement with your interpretation.

1. Hilarius Pictavensis. Ad Constantium Augustum. Lib. 2. apud finem.

2. Ejusdem in Psalm 62. p. 155.

3. Lucifer Calaritanus pro S. Athanasio. Lib. ii. p. 144.

4. Ambrosii (*rectius* Hilarii Diaconi) Expositio ad loc. (Vol. ii. p. 315.)

5. Hieronymi Expositio ad loc. (Vol. iv. p. 431.) And again same vol. p. 424.

6. Ejusdem, vol. v. p. 1103.

7. Ejusdem Commentar. in Isaiam, c. xlii. v. 13. vol. iii. p. 320.

8. Idacius Clarus (s. Vigilius Tapsensis) contra Varimadum Arianum. Lib. ii. c. 1. p. 430. (p. 281.)

9. Ejusdem. Lib. iii. c. 2. p. 456. (p. 290.)

10. Augustini Collatio cum Maximino Arianorum Episcopo. Vol. viii. p. 465.

11. Ejusdem, vol. iii. pars 2. p. 308.

12. Ejusdem, vol. v. Append. p. 272.

13. Ejusdem, vol. v. ibid. p. 343.

14. Ejusdem, vol. x. p. 18.

15. Ejusdem, vol. x. Append. p. 15.

16. Marius Mercator de Incarnatione Verbi, p. 235.

17. Joannes Cassianus de Incarnatione Domini, lib. ii. c. 4. p. 15.

18. Faustus Regiensis Episcopus de Ratione Fidei, p. 683. ap. Hæreseolog. Basil. 1556.

19. Alcimi Aviti Fragmenta ex libris contra Arianos Sirmond. Op. vol. ii. p. 178.

20. Fulgentius, p. 659.

21. Idem, p. 721.

22. Maxentius contra Nestorianos, lib. ii. p. 81.

23. Facundus Defensio trium Capitul. p. 3.

24. Primasius in loc. p. 466.

25. Anastasius Apocrisiarius, Epistolâ ad Theodosium Presbyt. p. 249.

26. Beda in loc. vol. vi. p. 1051.

27. Alcuinus, p. 908.

28. Idem, p. 968.

29. Idem, p. 992.

30. Idem, p. 1431.

31. Concilium Forojuliense, Anno Christi 791. Concil. vol. iv. p. 862.

32. Concilium Francofordiense, Anno Christi 794. Concil. vol. iv. p. 886. contains Jerome's comment on the verse. (See No. 5, above.)

33. Breviarium Fidei adversus Arianos, p. 86.

34. Idem, p. 119.

35. Rabanus Maurus ad loc. p. 528.

36. Lanfrancus ad loc. p. 202.

37. Bruno ad loc.

38. Anselmus Laudunensis ad loc. p. 387.

39. Lombardus ad loc.

40. Thomas Aquinas ad loc. p. 432. And

41. Opus

41. Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum (Chrysostom vol. vi. p. 182 Appendix) the work of an unknown author, but probably about the time of Chrysostom*.

The above may suffice with respect to the Latin writers, though the catalogue is, doubtless, far from being a complete one.

Of these, I consider only the numbers 3, 11, 14, 20, 26 and 30, as *indeterminate* in their signification. The remainder, (with the exceptions which I before alluded to) interpret the words *magni Dei* invariably of the Son.

56. It may not, however, be improper to transcribe the two following passages, by way of specimen. They are also from writers who were undoubtedly well acquainted with the Greek language.

The first is Jerome, in his commentary on this verse. (Vol. iv. p. 431.)

" Ubi est serpens Arius? Ubi Eunomius coluber? Magnus Deus, Jesus Christus Salvator dicitur; non primogenitus omnis creaturæ, non verbum Dei, et sapientia, sed Jesus Christus, quæ vocabula assumti hominis sunt. Neque vero alium Jesum Christum, alium Verbum dicimus, ut nova hæresis calumniatur: sed eundem

* See Cave Hist. Lit. vol. i. p. 312 and p. 317. Mill (Prolegom. sect. 1037) attributes it to a much later age, viz. the tenth century.

et

et ante sæcula, et post sæcula; et ante mundum; et post Mariam; imo ex Maria, magnum Deum appellamus, Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum, *qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut pretioso*, &c."

57. The other is from Cassian (No. 17).

He adds, after having quoted the passage, " Vidit profecto ille divinæ sapientiæ doctor ad insidiosas calliditates diabolicæ captionis, simplicem tantummodo non sufficere doctrinam, nisi sanctam fidei prædicationem munimine cautionis armasset, Et ideo cum superius nomen Dei salvatorisque posuisset," (he means at the beginning of verse 11, where he seems to have read, του Θεου και σωτηρος, or του Θεου του σωτηρος, and not του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος, the common reading) " hic addidit Jesu Christi: scilicet ne ad significandum Dominum Jesum Christum sufficere tibi forsitan nomen solum non crederes salvatoris; et non eundem Jesum Christum, Deum esse intelligeres, quem salvatorem Deum esse cognovisses. Quid ergo ait? *Exspectantes*, inquit, *beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* Nihil hic de nominibus Domini nostri deest. Et Deum hic, et Salvatorem, et Jesum, et Christum vides: sed omnia hæc videns, omnia in Deo esse perspicis. Audisti enim Deum, sed Salvatorem; audisti Deum, sed Jesum; audisti Deum esse, sed Christum. Separari hoc appellationis diversitate non valet, quod divinitas unitate conjunxit."

58. But,

58. But, moreover, we may learn from these Latin authorities, that even *their* heretics acknowledged your interpretation. The interpretation of *our* version was never once thought of in any part of the Christian world, even when Arianism was triumphant over the Catholic faith. Surely, this fact, might of itself suffice to overturn every notion of an ambiguity in the form of expression.

It was probably, in allusion to this verse, that we find the Arians, in their Discourse, a short tract answered by St. Augustine, speaking *thus* of the Father: " et *magno major*, et bono melior est manifestatus." (Augustine vol. viii. p. 442.)

But, the following, as they were taken down at the time, and are reported by Augustine (Vid. Possidium in Vitâ Augustini cap. 17.) are the words of Maximin, the celebrated Arian Bishop, in *their* curious and interesting conference. (See No. 10, of the Latin authorities.)

" A nobis unus colitur Deus, innatus, infectus, invisibilis, qui ad humana contagia, et ad humanam carnem non descendit. Est autem et Filius, secundum Apostolum, non pusillus, sed *magnus Deus*. Sicut ait beatus Paulus: *Exspectantes beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*. Iste enim magnus Deus Christus, dicit, quod ascendo ad Patrem meum, &c." (John xx. 17.)

A little

A little below, the same Maximin; " Iste Filius etiam, quod vos carni ascribitis, in sancto ait Evangelio, *Si diligeretis me, gauderetis utique, quoniam vado ad Patrem; quoniam Pater major est me.* (Joan. xiv. 28.) Ista enim legentes credimus et profitemur, secundum Apostolum, quòd ei omnia subjecta sint, ut *magno Deo.* Iste enim *magnus Deus,* quem talem genuit Pater, ut ipse prosecutus es, utique *majorem* Patrem confessus est."

59. Again: The *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum,* tho' printed among the writings of Chrysostom, is generally acknowledged to be the work of a Latin author, and an Arian. Notwithstanding, we find there the following passage (See No. 41 of the Latin authorities).

" Ergo Filius Dei magnus est, sicut Pater. Quicquid enim Pater potest, et Filius potest. *Pater enim diligit Filium, et omnia dedit in manum ejus.* Sed quia omnia Filius, dante Patre, potest sicut Pater, ideo Pater magnus Deus et primus: Filius autem *magnus Deus* quidem, non tamen primus: Sicut ait Apostolus, *Exspectantes adventum magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* Ut autem simpliciter intelligamus proximum nostrum, omnem hominem esse fidelem, &c.*"

* It is curious, that this interpretation has been *acknowledged* also in *modern* times. See " A Full Answer to the Catholic Doctrine of a Trinity. London, 1772, Johnson." Where not only the του μεγαλου θεου in thistext, but also the του θεου ἡμων και σωτηρος in 2 Pet. i. 1. is *admitted* to be spoken of Jesus Christ.

60. Besides

60. Besides these, we may gather some other particulars from the above references, not unimportant towards illustrating and ascertaining the exegetic history of this text.

It should seem, that by the times of Alcuin, some persons in the Western church, had, wisely enough, begun to ask, whether *magni Dei* might not rather mean the Father? I say, wisely enough, because, as far as *their* Latin text went, it might, at the least, *as* properly be explained of the Father, as the Son.

Hence it is that Alcuin says, (No. 27 above) "Vel quâ audaciâ, eundem Dominum et Deum nostrum, quis præsumit nominare nuncupativum Deum, quem idem Apostolus benedictum super omnia Deum, vel etiam *magnum Deum* non dubitavit clarâ voce confiteri et nominare? Ait itaque ad Titum, *Exspectantes beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate. Si quis dubitet de quo* dixisset Apostolus, legat Tractatum Beati Hieronymi quem in hanc fecit epistolam."

That Alcuin should refer to the *authority* of Jerome, and not the Greek original, and the *rationale* of the article, may be accounted for two ways; either because he is writing to those who would have been very slow to apprehend reasonings of that nature; or, rather, because

it is probable that Alcuin himself had never seen the Greek original *.

But, to continue our progress. If we come lower down, we shall find, that these *Latin* notions began gradually still more to prevail, and therefore *some* writers, to secure the old interpretation, leave out the *et* after "magni Dei," and write the passage thus—"magni Dei, Salvatoris nostri, &c." *others* are reduced to mentioning the *order* in which the words are to be taken.

Of the former kind examples may be found in the passages in Nos. 8, 23, and 34, above.

And, for the latter, Lanfranc says, "*Et est ordo*, gloriæ Jesu Christi, magni Dei, &c." and Anselmus Laudunensis, "*Et est ordo sensuum*. Exspectantes adventum gloriæ Jesu Christi, magni Dei et Salvatoris, &c."

Now, in *early* times, we do not find that these circumstances ever took place: nay we have seen, not merely by a continued chain of indirect, but even by open and express testimony, that, in the busy and learned ages of the Church, the interpretation of this passage was allowed, without demur, by the heretics. How, we may ask, can this be accounted for, but because the true Greek interpretation was then universally prevalent, and had as yet lost none of its efficacy?

* Professor Porson's Letters to Archdeacon Travis, p. 145.

61. But

61. But now that we have waded through so much concerning the history of this text, from the earliest times even to Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas, a person may be ready to ask, " But is there really nothing behind the scene? No strong opposing testimony? Or why, and when did the tide begin to turn?" Yes, Sir! there is some contrary testimony; and, as I would gladly introduce it with all fair advantage, we cannot take it better than from the hand of so great a critic as Wetstein.

After giving his reasons for abiding by the interpretation which attributes the του μεγαλου θεου to the Father —reasons in *matter* much the same with those which we have already seen, of Dr. Clarke and Dr. Benson, tho' more imperfect still than theirs, and which I regret that they were ever written down, both on his own account, and more for the sake of those to whom they may have been the instrument of evil,—he concludes his note thus: " Ita intelligit Hilarius, Erasmus et H. Grotius."

Now, if we are to infer, from his resorting at last to *authority*, that Wetstein had indeed enquired into the authorities for the two opposing interpretations (and more he *must* have known, than here is *told*), what can be more melancholy than thus to see, that they who most profess to be in search of truth, can not only not tell us what they find, but even studiously and imposingly block up, and cover over the avenues by which alone knowledge might be obtained?

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But, there is then *one* ancient testimony, that of Hilarius?—Yet, how little is its value! We find no express scientific discussion of the question; no intimation of a knowledge of *two* interpretations, with an expression of disapprobation of one of them.—But let the passage speak for itself. (See No. 4.)

" *Exspectantes beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ beati* Dei et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut redimeret nos ab omni iniquitate, et emundaret sibi populum abundantem, æmulatorem bonorum operum.* Hanc esse dicit beatam spem credentium quia exspectant adventum gloriæ magni Dei, quòd revelari habet, judice Christo, in quo Dei Patris videbitur potestas, et gloria, ut fidei suæ præmium consequantur. Ad hoc enim redemit nos Deus, ut puram vitam sectantes, repleti operibus bonis, regni Dei hæredes esse possimus. *Hæc loquere, et exhortare, et argue*, &c." In fact, it would be a waste of words, to set down the reasons which should depreciate this testimony.

62. Let us rather conclude our historical collections with Wetstein's remaining authorities, Erasmus and Grotius; as it is probable that these great names, and particularly the former, have been chiefly instrumental in propagating the *modern* interpretation.

——" του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος. Id ita legi potest ut utrumque pertineat ad Christum, Dei, et Servatoris: aut prius pertineat ad Patrem, posterius ad Chris-

* Compare 1 Tim. i. 11. Mill.

tum.

tum. Chrysostomus ac Theophylactus utrumque tribuunt Christo, et item Hieronymus, exultantes adversus Arianos, ceu victores, cum sermo plane sit anceps: imo magis pro illis facere videatur quàm pro nobis. Primum negari non potest quin Sermo Græcus sit ambiguus, et ex æquo pertinens ad sensum utrumlibet. Quid autem agas adversus hæreticum ex loco prorsus ancipiti? Quod si illos urgeas interpretum consensu, certe Ambrosius vir summus et Episcopus orthodoxus" (this great Bishop is, however, no other than the poor Deacon whom we have seen Dr. Mill treating so contemptuously) " divisim accipit, ut *magni Dei* referatur ad Patrem, *Servatoris* ad Christum. Ipsius verba subscribam. *Hanc esse*, &c. as before, to *hæredes esse possimus*. An non hic palam dicit Patrem revelaturum gloriam suam, judice Christo?—At adventus in sacris litteris non tribuitur Patri, sed Filio? Nec hic simpliciter nominatur adventus Patris, sed adventus gloriæ, quam interim expectamus in humilitate constituti. Tum apparebit majestas nostra, cum aperietur gloria magni Dei Patris, et servatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Quid autem hic metuimus Arianos, quum tot locis Paulus Dei vocabulum tribuat Patri, Filium appellans Dominum? Si Filius Dei, tantum in principio Evangelii Joannis adeo clare pronunciatus esset Deus, nonne sufficeret adversus universos Arianos? Postremo Ariani quidam hunc quoque locum accipiunt de Filio, et tamen non credunt quod nos credimus. Magnum enim Deum fatentur, verum negant; et hæc est illorum impietas. *Quanquam omissus articulus in libris Græcis facit nonnihil pro diversâ sententiâ. Evidentius*

distinxisset

distinxisset personas, si dixisset και του σωτηρος. Miror quid secutus Scholiastes ille *magnum Deum* interpretetur *Spiritum sanctum.* Fortasse locum captabat in quo Spiritus sanctus manifeste diceretur Deus." (Vol. vi. part 2. p. 699.)

The passage which Erasmus alludes to here, is (No. 6, above) from a short Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, published with the works of Jerome, but ascribed usually to Pelagius, or some Pelagian. It deserved to have been transcribed by Erasmus, or Wetstein, to increase the number of their authorities. For, if there be any other place in *all* the writings of antiquity, which does not interpret the words του μεγαλου Θεου, or " magni Dei," of the Son, this I believe to be the very passage. Was it that they dreaded the " din of war," when Hilarius and Pelagius, after overturning all the other authorities, must still have to fight out the battle by themselves?

But, Sir, whatever may be the event, let *our* principle be *strict Justice.* Hear therefore Pelagius:

" *Et adventum gloriæ magni Dei, et Salvatoris nostri, Jesu Christi.* Spiritum dicit magnum Deum quia ipsius expectamus adventum.

It would be almost a pity to suggest, that the original reading here, instead of *Spiritum*, perhaps was Christum. (Compare above, Nos. 12, 33, 37, and 56.)

63. Let

63. Let us now see Grotius's note, and then we shall have had before us a tolerably compleat view of all that has ever been said in favour of that interpretation. Succeeding commentators have faithfully trodden in the steps of those writers.

" Κατα την επιφανειαν· Illa apparitio dicitur non Christi tantum futura, sed et Dei; quia Deus majestatem illam Christo tribuit, ideo dicitur Christus venturus εν τη δοξα του Πατρος (Mat. xvi. 27. Marc. viii. 38.). Ita hunc locum recte accepit Ambrosius. Qui putant του σωτηρος dici debuisse, si hæc distinxisset Apostolus, Apostolus, norint in his libris τα αρθρα sæpe poni, ubi opus non est, et sæpe omitti ubi ex usu ponerentur. Ος εδωκεν εαυτον, &c.

Now, Sir, as to what is said here about the *Article*, I *believe*, that, exclusively of the few passages where you wish to reform the common version;—I am willing to exclude them, as *yet* in debate—but I say, exclusively of them, I fully believe, that there is no one exception to your first rule in the whole New Testament: and the assertion might be extended infinitely further. But, in *all the other places*, (whatever it may be in those concerning which *we* are particularly interested) having, under your guidance, examined them, I am persuaded that the idiom is not " anceps," not " ambiguum." Nay, may I not venture to add, that the Greek must be a *strange* language, if such a thing were possible?

With

With respect to the *other* part of this argument, that of *authority*, I have already said, I fear, more than enough.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

SIR,

IN our last example we abounded in authorities I fear, even to weariness. In what follows, our complaint must be changed. My materials become very scanty.

The mere *Commentators* on St. Paul are numerous: and therefore, he who should seek for the opinion of antiquity respecting any passage of that writer, would seldom be entirely disappointed, even though he were not to extend his researches beyond the Commentators. But, besides them, all the remains of Ecclesiastical antiquity abound in quotations from St. Paul's writings.

Not so with respect to the Catholic Epistles. Of them manuscripts were comparatively never numerous. Accordingly quotations also are rare. Chrysostom, for instance, in all his writings, has not a word either from the second Epistle of St. Peter, or that of St. Jude. And the following Commentators, who have written on St. Paul, all desert us here, viz. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Damascenus, Theophylact; besides the different Latin

2. Neither shall we fare any better among the *Latin* writers. The only person, exclusive of the Commentators, by whom I find this verse quoted, is an unknown writer, among the works of St. Prosper, and that in a passage which gives no explanation of the words about which we are concerned. And, as to the Commentators, I am almost tired of boasting of the suffrages of Bede, or Thomas Aquinas *.

Let us therefore go on to (Jude v. 4.) your *last* example.

The places which I have found that follow the common reading (*τον μονον δεσποτην* ΘΕΟΝ *και κυριον*), are only *three*.

1. The *first* is the Commentary of Oecumenius. Wetstein indeed, and Griesbach tell us, that he omits the *θεον*. But I have consulted the editions (Verona) of 1532, the Latin by Hentenius, (Paris 1545) the Latin by Felicianus (Basil 1552), and the Greek of 1610 (Frankfort) and 1631 (Paris); and in none of them do I find that to be the case: though it must be allowed, indeed, we cannot *prove from the context*, that *θεον* was in his manuscript. The following is that part of the comment about which we are interested.

* See Appendix No. 5.

Το δε, μετατιθεντες εις ασελγειαν, αντι του παραχαρατ]οντες απο της σωφροσυνης εις ασελγειαν. αφ' ου και αρνεισθαι συμβαινει αυτους τον κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον. Και πως γαρ ουκ αρνουνται, οι δια της του βιου ακαθαρσιας τον πασης σωφροσυνης διδασκαλον οιονει τινι διακτορι φωνη αποτομον ποιουμενοι; Τις γαρ κοινωνια φωτι προς σκοτος; Παρακαλων επαγωνιζεσθαι] επαγωνιζεσθαι παρακαλεσ τους απαξ τον Χριστον καταδεξαμενους σωτηρα, και τουτ[ω πεπιστευκοτας, τουτ' εστι, μη εκλελυμενως διατεθηναι, αλλα συντειναντας εαυτους ετι μαλλον εχεσθαι της περι τουτο σπουδης. Δεξαμενοι γαρ τον ενανθρωπησαντα Λογον, ει λεγοιμεν ετερον μεν ειναι τον προ αιωνων εκ του Πατρος, ετερον δε τον επ' εσχατων εκ της μητρος και κατ' ιδιαν υποστασιν, πως ουκ αν αρνηθειημεν τον ενα κυριον και δεσποτην; εις γαρ κυριος Ιησους καθ' ενωτιν οικονομικην. Ο γαρ προ αιωνων θεου Λογος και Θεος, εις την της θεοτητος δοξαν αναφοιτωσαν εχων την σαρκα, ην απο της αγιας παρθενου εξ αρχης συλλ[ψεως ανελαβεν, εις κατ' αυτος εστιν απαντων δεσποτης. Χαριν μετατιθεντες]. αντι του μεταποιουντες, παραποιουντες. Υπομνησαι δη υμας βουλομαι κ. τ. ε. (Vol. ii. p. 623.)

2. Professor Matthæi, in his edition of the Greek Testament, has printed certain Scholia from a manuscript of which he gives the following account.

"D. Codex membranaceus sec. xi. Continet Acta Apostolorum, epistolas catholicas et D. Pauli cum scholiis. Scholia ad epistolas catholicas, *quæ vetustissima sunt*, infra edidi, &c." (Preface to the Catholic Epistles, p. 25.)

The

The following is transcribed from these Scholia.

Και τον μονον] και τον μονον δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι, φησιν. Ὁ γαρ βιος αυτοις ακαθαρτος ων, οἱονει μεγαλῃ φωνῃ αρνειται τον Ιησουν. Ει γαρ και παρεδεξαντο τινες του της ενανθρωπησεως λογον, αλλ' επει τινες λεγουσι ἑτερον μεν ειναι υἱον, τον εκ θεου πατρος λογον, ἑτερον δε ιδικως, τον εκ γυναικος, ηρνησαντο τον ἑνα δεσποτην. εἱς γαρ κυριος Ιησους, καθ' ἑνωσιν οικονομικην, την προς γε, φημι, τον εκ θεου λογον, εις την της θεοτητος δοξαν αναφοιτωσης αυτου της σαρκος. εἱς ουν αρα Χριστος και υἱος. εστι γαρ οὑτος μονος των ὁλων δεσποτης. ——οὑτοι τοινυν ἑτερον μεν ειναι λεγοντες, τον της παλαιας διαθηκης θεον, ἑτερον δε της νεας, ὡς δυο αρχας αντιτεταγμενας αλληλαις, πονηραν τε και αγαθην, εφισταντες πασῃ τῃ κτισει, και αμφοτερας αγεννητους, τον μονον θεον και κυριον αρνουνται. Ὁθεν δειξαι βουλομενος, ὁτι εἱς εστιν ὁ παλαιας και νεας διαθηκης θεος και κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, επηγαγεν, ὑπομνησαι δε ὑμας βουλομαι, κ. τ. λ. (p. 235.)

3. The *third* is only a *Latin* testimony.

Fulgentius, we are told, was a great Grecian; and therefore *He* might justly have claimed our respect. But it is maintained, that the Treatise from which our extract is taken, has no right to the name of Fulgentius *. And unfortunately the main reason given, is the profound ig-

* See Dupin, Cave, &c.

norance

norance which it betrays of the Greek language. As far as I see, this judgment is too severe. Still the tract *may not* be Fulgentius's. Indeed it seems rather the work of an earlier writer.

The title of the Chapter is, *Testimonia de Æqualitate Patris et Filii:* and in the series of these testimonies, as we find them closely strung together, he writes (Adversus Pintam Arianum p. 720) " In Epistola Joannis (2 Joan. v. 9.) *Omnis qui non manet in doctrinâ Christi, Deum non habet. Qui permanet in doctrinâ, et Filium et Patrem habet.* Filius prius. *In Epistola Judæ; Dominatorem et Deum nostrum Jesum Christum negantes.* Et Deus et Dominus. In Apocalypsi *dicunt Montibus et Petris,* &c. (Apoc. vi. 16.)"

In the other writers where I find this verse quoted, it is always without the Θεον. Even *then* the clause must be allowed to be an important one: it may, therefore, be worth our while, and is by no means stepping out of our way, to see *how,* in *that* case, the words are interpreted.

4. The following is the text, and commentary of Didymus Alexandrinus.

" *Subintroierunt enim quidam homines, impii, qui olim præscripti et prædestinati erant in hoc judicium Domini nostri gratiam transferentes in luxuriam et solum dominatorem, et cæt.*

gratiam

. . . . . gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi in luxuriam mutaverunt, per ipsam spurcitiam suam, negantes unum dominatorem Dominum Jesum Christum eorum, qui per evangelium sunt vocati." And again, afterwards —" per quam luxuriam, et effectus ejus negant solum dominatorem et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Animadvertendum est solum dominatorem esse Christum, eo quod solus verus sit Deus. Sic enim, cum solus sit dominator et Dominus Jesus, non expellit auctoritate Patrem, dicens ei, *Domine cæli et terræ* (Matt. c. xi. 25.) Sic neque Pater, cum solus sit verus Deus (John c. xvii. 3.) extraneum facit a verâ dictate Filium."

There can be no doubt but that Didymus understood the *τον μονον δεσποτην και κυριον* of *one* person.

5. And we may say the same also of Cyrillus Alexandrinus.

—— *και τον μονον δεσποτην και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι. Κατα τινα τροπον αρνησεται τις των ἁπαξ πεπιστευκοτων τον κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν τον Χριστον; Και τοι παραδεξαμεθα τον της ενανθρωπησεως λογον, αλλ' ει Φαμεν, ὁτι ἑτερος μεν εστι υἱος ὁ εκ Θεου Πατρος Λογος, ἑτερος δε κατ' ιδιαν ὁ εκ γυναικος, ηρνησαμεθα τον μονον δεσποτην. εἱς γαρ κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, καθ' ἑνωσιν οικονομικην, την προς γε, Φημι, τον εκ Θεου Λογον, εις την της θεοτητος δοξαν αναφοιτωσης αυτου της σαρκος. εἱς ουν αρα Χριστος και υἱος· εσται γαρ οὑτω των ὁλων δεσποτης.* (De Rectà Fide, vol. 5. part ii. p. 78.)

6. Again,

6. Again the same writer (vol. v. part ii. p. 190. Epistol.)

Περι των τοιουτων, ὡς γε οιμαι, γεγραφασι του Σωτηρος οἱ μαθηται. Παρεισεδυσαν γαρ τινες κ. τ. ἑξ.—και τον μονον δεσποτην και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι. Ιησους δε Χριστος ονομαζοιτω αν εικοτως εν ανθρωπου μορφῃ πεφηνως ὁ Λογος. Επει φραζετωσαν κ. τ. ἑξ. But this example can hardly be said to be *determinate.*

7. The verse is also quoted by Ephraim Syrus (vol. i. p. 113 of the Latin translation of Gerard Vossius); and by a writer, later than Nestorius, among the works of Chrysostom (vol. viii. p. 76. Appendix.) these however I need not transcribe, as they contain nothing of explanation.

8. The Latin writers* which leave out the "Deum," are Lucifer Calaritanus, and a writer among the works of St. Augustin. The latter discloses nothing for our purpose (Vol. x. p. 30. Appendix. Also Augustine's Speculum vol. iii. p. 612. omits the "Deum") but Lucifer evidently understood the words of Christ only.

"Subintraverunt enim quidam homines, olim quidem præscripti ad hoc judicium, impii, qui Dei gratiam transferunt ad impudicitiam, et qui est dominator noster et Dominus Jesus Christus, eum negantes. Cum negato-

* See Appendix, No. 6.

ribus vobis blasphemis fuerit nefas convenire, &c." (P. 222. De non conveniendo cum Hereticis.)

Now that I have produced my collections upon St. Jude, you are, perhaps, surprized to find, that there is still something more to come.

But, while I was examining my Greek Testament, with your Remarks in view, I could not help asking myself, whether St. James might not mean, in his first verse (Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, &c.) to call Jesus Christ, *God* and *Lord*.

I saw, indeed, that this passage was produced as the *first* example of your 5th rule, which tells us, that when no article is prefixed to the former of two nouns connected by the copulative και, these nouns denote *different* persons.

Yet it seemed to me, that the several forms and meanings respecting the nature of the article, might be arranged in the following manner, and rules adapted to them accordingly *, thus:

* The reader may not be displeased to see some part of these forms *verified* by extracts from Greek writers. *First* (1st and 2d) Και παλιν ὡς θερμος ὁ Πέτρος προσπηδᾷ, και ὁμολογει αληθως αὐτον ειναι τον υἱον του Θεου. Ου γαρ εἰπε, Συ ει ὁ Χριστος υἱος του Θεου, χωρις του Ὁ ἀρθρου, αλλα μετα του ἀρθρου, Ὁ υἱος, τουτεστιν, αυτος εκεινος ὁ εἷς και μονος. ου χαριτι υἱος, αλλ' ὁ ἐξ αυτης της ουσιας του Πατρος γεννηθεις. Ἐπει και Χριστοι πολλοι ησαν, οἱ ἱερεις παντες και οἱ βασιλεις, αλλ'

1. Κυριος. 2. Ὁ Κυριος.
3. Ὁ Κυριος και ὁ Σωτηρ.
4. Ὁ Κυριος και σωτηρ.
5. Κυριος και σωτηρ.

In English.

1. A Lord, or Lord. 2. The Lord.
3. The Lord and the Saviour.
4. The Lord and Saviour.
5. A Lord and a Saviour, or, a Lord and Saviour.

The *third* and the *last* forms may be used indifferently of *one*, or *two* persons: just as in English we may apply the corresponding expressions, "*The Lord and the Saviour*," and "*A Lord and a Saviour*," either to *one*, or *two* persons; while (according to your *first* rule) the *fourth* form (like our English, "*The* Lord and Saviour") is invariably spoken of *one* only.

αλλ' ὁ Χριστος μετα του αρθρου εἱς εστιν. (Theophylact. in Matt. c. xvi. v. 16. p. 93.) See also Euseb. contra Marcell. De Eccles. Theol. lib. 2. p. 133. Again, (3d.) Ὁρα δε τον πρωην απιστον (speaking of St. Thomas) πως απο του ἁψασθαι της πλευρας θεολογος αριστος ανεδειχθη. Τας γαρ δυο φυσεις, και την μιαν ὑποστασιν του ἑνος Χριστου εδιδαξεν· εν μεν τω ειπειν Κυριον, την ανθρωπινην φυσιν (και γαρ επ' ανθρωπων το Κυριος λεγεται, ὡς το, Κυριε, ει συ εβαστασας αυτον, Joann. c. xx. 15.) δια δε το ειπειν Θεος μου, την θειαν ουσιαν, ἱνα μεντοι και τον αυτον ειναι Κυριον και Θεον. Δεικνυων δε, &c. (Theophylact. in Joann. c. xx. 28.) Also, (Nicet. Paphlagon. ap. Combefis Auctar. Biblioth. Pat. 1672.) Ὁ κυριος μου, και ὁ θεος μου. Ουκ αλλος ὁ κυριος, και αλλος ὁ θεος· ουκ αλλος ὁ ψηλαφωμενος, και αλλος ὁ αναφης, αλλ' ὁ τω προσλημματι ληπτος κυριος, αυτος ὁυτος μου θεος; ακρατητος τη θεοτητι και αληπτος. With respect to the 4th form, we may refer back to Letter 5. No. 31. p. 80—81. Lastly (5th) in the following passage, *two* personal nouns are predicated of one subject:—Επει και Ὁ Χριστος δυο φυσεις εχει, Θεος και Ανθρωπος ων. Theophylact. in Matt. c. xvii. 27. p. 102.

Accordingly it may, I conceive, properly be said, that *in general* the words "Θεου και κυριου," *may* be used *either* of *one*, or *two* persons. In the *instance* before us, I felt as if it were *more probable* that it was St. James's design to convey the *former* meaning. For, had he intended the *latter*, he would perhaps have been led to have adopted this form, Ιακωβος Θεου δουλος, και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, or have inserted the word πατρος; thus, Ιακωβος Θεου πατρος, και κυριου, &c. This latter form (Θεου πατρος και κυριου) is found perpetually in St. Paul's Epistles*, and effectually avoids all ambiguity: while the words (Θεου και κυριου) without the article prefixed, never occur, except in this passage of St. James.

However, I did not lay any further stress on these notions, than to be determined by them, to watch, as I went along, in what manner this verse might be interpreted by the Fathers. I come now to produce the fruits of my search.

1. I fancy there can be no dispute but that Amphilochius, or the following writer, whoever he may be, understood the words of *one* person.

Ηπιστησε πρότερον ὁ Παυλος εν ἀγνοιᾳ· και ἐσχατον μαθων την του Χριστου δυναμιν, ευγνωμονως ἐκηρυξεν. Ουκ ειμι ἱκανος καλεισθαι Αποστολος, διοτι ἐδιωξα την εκκλη-

* See Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2. Gal. i. 3. Eph. i. 2. & vi. 23. Phil. i. 2. Col. i. 2. 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Thess. i. 1 & 2. 1 Tim. i. 1 & 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. Tit. i. 4. Philem. 3.

σιαν

σιαν τοῦ* Χριστου · (1 Cor. xv. 9.) Παλιν, ἀμφεβαλεν ὁ Θωμας, και γενομενος ψηλαφητης ὑστερον τον ποθουμενον κυριον και θεον ἑαυτου ὡμολογησεν. (Joan. xx. 25.) Ηπιστησαν δε ποτε και οἱ του Ιωσηφ υἱοι, καθως μαρτυρει ὁ Ευαγγελιστης (Joan. vii. 5.) και τῃ πειρᾳ διδαχθεντες το ἀληθες γεγραφηκασιν, Ιακωβος και Ιουδας, παντι τῳ κοσμῳ, Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλους ἑαυτους εἰναι. ὧν μετοχοι γενοιμεν παντες ἡμεις· εν χαριτι του εκλεξαμενου αυτους εις Αποστολους Ιησου Χριστου, του κυριον και Θεου ἡμων· μεθ' οὗ τῳ Πατρι και &c. (In Sanctam Deiparam, p. 56.)

2. The next authority is from the Latin translation of the Commentary of Didymus Alexandrinus.

" *Jacobus Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi servus, duodecim tribubus quæ sunt in dispersione, salutem.* Sicuti mortalem gloriam homines appetentes, in suis conscriptionibus, dignitates, quas putantur habere, præponunt: ita sancti viri in Epistolis quas scribunt ad ecclesias, principaliter proferunt servos se esse *Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, æstimantes hanc appellationem supra regna totius mundi consistere."

* The *common* reading here is εκκλησιαν του Θεου, and Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach mention no other. Θεου would also, I conceive, better suit the train of Amphilochius's reasoning. He is producing instances of those, who, having first doubted it, afterwards have come to confess the *Divinity* of our Saviour.

3. In

3. In the Expositio Patrum Græcorum in Psalmos (Antwerp. 1646 a Balth. Corderio) Vol. ii. p. 759. in Psalm. 85. there is the following passage under the name of Didymus.

ΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ. Και αλλως οἱ ἁγιοι παντες αυχουσιν, ὡς επ' αξιωματι μεγαλῳ, τῳ δουλοι ειναι Θεου. Τοιγαρουν Ιωναϛ ὁθεν εστιν ερωτωμενος, Δουλος, ειπεν ειμι του Θεου, και τον Θεον του ουρανου σεβομαι. (Jon. i. 9.) Και μην οἱ Αποστολοι μαρτυρουνται προς του Σωτηρος, καλως αυτον δι' εργων κυριον ὁμολογουντες, και λογων. Ὑμεις γαρ φωνειτε με, Ὁ κυριος, και Ὁ διδασκαλος, και καλως λεγετε· ειμι γαρ. (Joan. xiii. 13.) Τουτο ουν και ὡς αξιωμα μεγα των διωνι συγγραμματων προτατττουσιν. Ιακωβος γαρ Θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος· και Παυλος δουλος Ιησου Χριστου, καθαπερ οἱ εκ των περι αυτους αξιωματων εν ταις βιωτικαις συγγραφαις χρηματιζειν εθελοντες. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΗΤΟΥ. Και &c.

4. Cyrillus Alexandrinus is also an express testimony in favour of the same interpretation.

Ιακωβος Θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, ταις δωδεκα Φυλαις ταις εν τῃ διασπορᾳ, χαιρειν. Θεον ενθαδε και Κυριον αποκαλει τον Ιησουν Χριστον, τουτο κατα Φυσιν ουτα γινωσκων της αληθειας ὁ κηρυξ. Και πως εις τοσουτον αποθρασυνεται των ἑτεροδοξουντων ὁ νους, ὡς τον οὑτως εχοντα Φυσεως υἱον, γεννητον, ἡ ποιητον ὑπολαμβανειν; (Vol. 5. part i. p. 300. Thesaurus.)

5. Again

5. Again. Πεπληροφορηνται γαρ ὁτι και Θεος κατα Φυσιν εστι, και ει γεγονεν εν σαρκι, και πεφυκεν ανθρωπος . . . . . Ιακωβος γουν ὁ μακαριος ταις δωδεκα Φυλαις επιστελλει λεγων. Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος. Ουκουν αινεσουτιν ὡς Θεον, και οἱ δια πιστεως και ἁγιασμου του δια πιστεως κεκλημενοι προς αδελφοτητα· προσκυνησουσι δε ουδεν ἡττον, και οἱ του Πατρος υἱοι. (Vol. i. p. 222. Glaphyror. in Genesin. Lib. vii.)

6. And lastly, the author of the *Commentarius Rerum Jacobi, Dei Fratris,* whom Combefis takes to be Simeon Metaphrastes.

Δηλουται γαρ ευθυς απο γραμμης του ἁγιου το μετριον. Εχει δε οὑτως. Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, ταις δωδεκα Φυλαις, ταις εν τῃ διασπορᾳ, χαιρειν. Ἐξον γαρ αυτῳ Αποστολον καλειν ἑαυτον, ἡ Επισκοπον, ἡ τογε μειζον ειπειν, αδελφον του Κυριου· οἷς ονομασι αυτον και Παυλος, γραφων Γαλαταις (c. i. 19.). εδηλωσεν· ὁ δε τοις ταπεινοτεροις Φαινεται χαιρων, και δουλον ἑαυτον Χριστου του Θεου, ταις Φυλαις του Ισραηλ, ειναι γνωριζει. (Auctarium Biblioth. Græcor. Patr. p. 520. Paris 1672.)

7. The only Latin writer in whom I have found this verse, is St. Augustin. It is not perhaps a matter of much importance; but, after a careful examination, I am not able to satisfy myself, in *which sense* he understood St. James.

The

The phrase " usitatissimum exordium," and the *first view* of the passage, seem strongly to imply, that he explains the words of *two* persons; while the argument of the entire paragraph attentively considered, seems, if I understand him aright, rather to lead to the contrary interpretation.

" Jacobus autem usitatissimum exordium fecit Epistolæ, ita scribens, *Jacobus Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi servus, duodecim tribubus quæ sunt in dispersione, salutem.* Credo, considerans salutem non esse nisi in dono Dei, ubi gratia et pax. Et quanquam ante hoc verbum nominaverit Deum, et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, tamen quia nullà gratià, et nullà pace salve fiunt homines, nisi quæ est a Deo Patre, et Domino Jesu Christo, sicut Joannes in *tertiâ* (sc. Epistolà) *veritatem*, sic iste *salutem* pro ipsâ Trinitate posuisse mihi videtur." (Augustin. vol. iii. part 2. p. 678.)

8. But, there is *one* Greek writer who has clearly adoptèd the *other* interpretation. It is Œcumenius in his Commentary. Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, ταις δωδεκα κ. τ. λ. Θεου μεν του Πατρος, Κυριου δε του υἱου. ὡστε ει ἐξ ἱσου πατρος και υἱου δουλος, ὁμοτἱμος εστι τῳ πατρι και ὁ υἱος, και κατ' ουσιαν, και κατ' ἐνεργειαν. Ὑπερ παν δε κοσμικον ἀξιωμα οἱ του Κυριου Αποστολοι τῳ δουλοι Χριστου ειναι καλλωπιζομενοι, τουτο γνωρισμα ἑαυτων βουλονται ποιεισθαι, και λεγοντες, και επιστελλοντες, και διδασκοντες. Πασαν χαρων. Την κατα θεον λυπην, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 441.)

I have

I have now, Sir, laid before you my whole stock of the quotations by the Fathers of those verses in the New Testament which have been the subject of your remarks. Here therefore I might stop.—But there is a body of evidence still behind of so much importance, that it would be highly culpable were I entirely to omit it; and so intimately connected with the line of argument which we have taken, that the bringing of it forward cannot be regarded as a departing from the unity of our design. What I mean is of this kind. Supposing that a person is not satisfied with what we have been able to gather, from the works which time has spared, on any, or all of the above verses, we might take up the different Greek writers, even from the most modern days of that language (suppose we say the æra of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament) and should find them using the various forms of expression contained in those passages of Scripture, and others closely resembling them, *invariably* in the sense which you are claiming; and thus we might trace our steps upwards in a regular order, even till we should touch the Apostles. To make a complete transcript of such passages from all the writers where they might be met with, would be a work of more labour and shew, than use. Indeed the specimens which I mean to give, will probably seem too many. But the number of them is calculated upon the opinion, that the impression of a long established interpretation can only be effaced by successive contrary impulses. They will suffice, I hope, to shew, how a more complete enumeration would supply all our deficiencies,

connect the fragments and distant portions, and acting as a sort of cement, bind our materials together, and build them up into one uniform solid edifice.

1. Clemens Romanus.

Ταυτα παντα ὁ μεγας δημιουργος και δεσποτης των απαντων εν ειρηνη και ὁμονοια προσεταξεν ειναι. Epist. i. c. 20.

Ὁ παντεποπτης θεος (και) δεσποτης των πνευματων και κυριος (πα)σης σαρκος, ὁ εκλεξαμενος (τον) κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον, &c. Epist. i. c. 58.

2. Polycarp.

Ει ουν δεομεθα του Κυριου ινα ἡμιν αφῃ αφειλομεν και ἡμεις αφιεναι. Απεναντι γαρ του Κυριου και Θεου εσμεν οφθαλμων, και παντας δει παραστηναι τῳ βηματι του Χριστου, και ἑκαστον ὑπερ ἑαυτου λογον δουναι. Epist. ad Philip. c. vi.

3. Justin Martyr.

Επ' ονοματος του Πατρος των ὁλων και δεσποτου Θεου, και του σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, και Πνευματος αγιου. Apolog. i. p. 131. §. 79. Ashton's Edition.

Γεννησεσθαι ταυτα παντα προειπε, φημι, ὁ ἡμετερος διδασκαλος και του Πατρος παντων και δεσποτου Θεου υἱος και αποστολος ων, Ιησους Χριστος. Ibid. §. 14. p. 22.

—Αγγελον

—Αγγελον εκεινον των πιστευε, θεου βουλομενου, του αγαπωμενον υπ' αυτου πρωτου κυριου και θεου. (Of the Father.) Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 282. Ed. Jebb.

Η γαρ φυτευθεισα υπο του θεου αμπελος και σωτηρος Χριστου, ὁ λαος αυτου εστι. p. 322.

Ερχομαι νυν αποδειξαι αποκηρυξιν ειναι των υπο του ημετερου ἱερεως και θεου και Χριστου, υἱου του Πατρος των ὁλων, &c. p. 336.

Δι' ὡν αποδεδεικται υπο τω Πατρι και κυριω τεταγμενος, και υπηρετων τη βουλη αυτου, ουτος ὁς ωφθη τω τε Αβρααμ &c. p. 368.

4. Irenæus.

Ἱνα Χριστω Ιησου τω κυριω ημων και θεω και σωτηρι και βασιλει κατα την ευδοκιαν του Πατρος του αορατου, παν γονυ καμψη. L. i. c. x. p. 48.

5. Clemens Alexandrinus.

Και τους ποδας ενιπτεν αυτων σαβανω περιζωσαμενος ὁ ατυφος θεος και κυριος * των ὁλων· ουκ αργυρον δη &c. Pædagog. l. ii. c. iii. p. 161.

Ως δυναμει μεν ὁ κυριος και θεος παντων αν ειη και τω οντι παντοκρατωρ. Stromat. l. vi. p. 612.

* To avoid a repetition of other instances of the form ὁ θεος και κυριος, I beg leave to refer the reader to Letter IV. p. 57, &c.

Ὁ της πιστεως ἡμων και αγαπης θεος και Φρουρος, ὁθεν επι τελει &c. Ibid. l. vii. p. 732.

Ὁν μονον οντα Θεον αγαθον Πατερα χαρακτηριζει ὁ σωτηρ ἡμων και Θεος. Ibid. l. vii. p. 737.

6. Origen.

Οὑτω καθ' ἡμας ὁ Λογος Θεος και Θεου των ὁλων ὑιος ελεγεν εν τῳ Ιησου, το, Εγω ειμι ἡ ὁδος &c. (John xiv. 6.) Cont. Cels. l. 2. vol. i. p. 393.

Αδυνατον ὑπο του επι πασι Λογου και Θεου θεραπευθηναι. Ibid. l. viii. p. 795.

Τιμους γαρ εις μονον τον επι πασι λεγομεν Θεον, και τον μονογενη αυτου Λογον και θεον. Ibid. l. viii. p. 792.

— Εν πασιν εσεσθαι οἱς επηγγειλατο ὁ ἀψευδης θεος και σωτηρ, ὁ κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος. Selecta in Psalmos, vol. ii. p. 564.

ΣαΦως γαρ απο τουτων μεμαθηκαμεν ὁτι ὁ δημιουργος και θεος των προΦητων και πατηρ του Χριστου, θεος τε και πατηρ ἡμων εστι. In Joann. vol. ii. p. 216. (Huetii Edit.)

Ταυτα δε και μετα την ενανθρωπησιν νοειται του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων. δοξῃ γαρ και τιμῃ ὁ ανθρωπος εστεΦανωται. Select. in Psalm. vol. ii. p. 584.

7. Eusebius.

7. Eusebius.

Ὁ κυριος ἡμων και Θεος Ιησους ὁ Χριστος το θελημα του Πατρος αυτου πεπληρωκε &c. Ecc. Hist. l. i. c. 13.

Σοι την ευχαριστιαν αποδιδομεν Χριστε ὁ θεος και σωτηρ. Oratio Constantini ad Sanctor. Cœtum. c. 11.

Ου γαρ αγνοειτε εκει πρωτον τον των ὁλων δεσποτην Θεον και ωΦθαι τῳ Αβρααμ και διειλεχθαι. De Vita Constantini, l. iii. c. 53. And again same page. Also B. iv. c. 13.

Τις δ' αν ειη ὁ σωτηρ ἡμων και θεος ἡμων, η ὁ του Θεου Λογος, ὁ ειπων, Θαρσειτε, εγω νενικηκα του κοσμον. In Psalm. p. 628.

Εχεις δε εν τοις προτεροις τον του Θεου Λογον και θεον και κυριον διαΦορως ανηγορευομενον. Demonstrat. Evang. l. vii. p. 337.

8. Athanasius.

Πασι τοις ηγαπηκοσι την επιΦανειαν του κυριου και σωτηρος και θεου και παμβασιλεως ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Vol. i. p. 294.

Οἱ ποτε ειποντες τον εκ Μαριας προελθοντα, μη ειναι αυτον τον Χριστον και κυριον και θεον. P. 908.

Ουτε

14. Andreas Cretensis.

Χριστον του αληθινου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων &c. P. 184.

Ευλογωμεν τον θεον και δεσποτην και σωτηρα των ἁπαντων, Χριστον. P. 209.

Ὁ κυριος ἡμων και θεος, θελων &c. P. 255.

15. Maximus Confessor.

Δι' ἡν γενομενος ανθρωπος ὁ θεος και Λογος Φησιν. Vol. i. p. 17.

Την ανθρωπου Φυσιν, θεωθεισαν ηδη και ἁρμοσθεισαν αὐτῳ τῳ Λογῳ και θεῳ. P. 86.

Εικοτως ὁ τον κατ' ελπιδα ζωης του Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 196.

Αὐτος γαρ ὁ κυριος ἡμων και θεος γενομενος ανθρωπος. P. 253.

Εν τῃ μια τον ἑνος Χριστου και Θεου σωτηρος ὑποστασει &c. P. 599.

Εις την, προσωπον, προς προσωπον τελειαν επιγνωσιν τε και μυησιν αὐτου του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος των ὁλων Χριστου, τους κατ' ευχας &c. Vol. ii. p. 36.

Δια

Δια παντος Φρουρουμενους ψυχη τε και σωματι ταυτην την ειλικρινη και ορθοδοξον του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων προσβευειν ὁμολογιαν, εμπροσθεν αυτου και πασης της κτισεως. P. 114. See also p. 195, 336.

Ὁ Θεος και πατηρ ελεγε τῳ υἱῳ και θεῳ. Vol. ii. p. 449.

Ἡ δε παναγια τε και σεπτη του μεγαλου και μακαριου Θεου και πατρος επικλησις, της δοθησαμενης, &c. p. 513.

16. Theodorus Studites.

Και ὡς θαυμαστα τα εργα του μεγαλου και μονου θεου ἡμων των Χριστιανων, &c. p. 649.

—Σωτηριως τῳ κοσμῳ, του Χριστου και Θεου ἡμων, ζωοποιου σταυρου. P. 198.

Την εκκλησιαν ἣν περιεποιησατο ὁ κυριος και θεος ἡμων τῳ οικειῳ αἱματι. P. 282.

ΕΦ' ᾧ το παναγιον σωμα του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου κατετεθη. P. 402.

Και μαρτυς του λογου αυτος ὁ θεος και λογος, πη μεν λεγων, &c. p. 442.

Και ταυτα ὑπερ Χριστου του υἱου του Θεου και θεου ἡμων. P. 539.

17. Photius.

Ἕλληνες τον Χριστον και θεον ἡμων εικονιζειν, ὁτι μηδε θειαζουσιν, ουκ ανεχονται. Epistolar. p. 96.

Ην ποτε κρυφιος φιλος ὁ Ιωσηφ και νυκτερινος μαθητης του εμου δεσποτου και θεου. Ibid. p. 133.

Ὡστε μηδε τουτου συναισθησιν δεξασθαι, ὁτιπερ ὁ σωτηρ ἡμων και θεος, των μεν πολιτικων &c. P. 281.

Οτι ουδ' ὁ Χριστος και θεος ἡμων, ἁτε την ἡμαρτημενην Φυσιν προσειληφως, &c. Bibliothec. p. 396.

Δυο γαρ γεννησεις του ἑνος Χριστου και Θεου ἡμων ειδοτες. P. 801.

Ὁρα δε και αυτος ὁ δεσποτης και θεος των ὁλων τι λεγει τῳ Μωσει. P. 885.

Της παρουσιας αυτου ενιαυτους ὁ κυριος και θεος ἡμων, ὁ Χριστος. P. 293.

18. Petrus Siculus.

Του μεγαλου τοινυν θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου επι της γης οφθεντος, και ἡμιν τοις ανθρωποις συναναστρα φεντος. P. 10.

19. Theophanes Cerameus.

Και οὑτως αξιωθειημεν την ζωηφορον αναστασιν ιδειν του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 130.

Της

Της λαμπρας αναστασεως εποπται γενωμεθα του μεγαλου θεου και δεσποτου Χριστου, του συν Πατρι &c. P. 158.

Προσδοκωντες λημψεσθαι ζωην αιωνιον χαριτι του μεγάλου Θεου και Πατρος, και του μονογενους αυτου υἱου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 296.

Τοις ιχνεσι του δεσποτου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· ᾧ ἡ δοξα εις τους αιωνας. P. 329.

20. Germanus Patriarcha.

Την επι του Ιορδανου αναδειξιν και Φανερωσιν του Χριστου και θεου ἡμων. P. 143.

Το δε εν τῳ ποτηριῳ αυτο το τιμιον αἱμα του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 159.

Και καταπαυσεις, εις την του κυριου και θεου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου προελευσιν. P. 159.

Και εσται ελεη του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου μετα παντων ἡμων. P. 160.

Μετα Φοβου Θεου και πιστεως και αγαπης προσελθετε Χριστῳ τῳ θεῳ και βασιλει ἡμων· δει ουν Φοβον &c. P. 165.

We might continue our progress still further, but even this brings us into the middle of the 13th century; so that we shall easily be excused for descending no lower. And it may be fairly estimated, what stress is to be laid on this part of the argument, when it shall have been told, that I have observed more (I am persuaded) than a thousand instances of the form ὁ Χριστος και Θεος (Ephes. v. 5.) some hundreds of instances of the ὁ μεγας θεος και σωτηρ (Tit. ii. 13); and not fewer than several thousands of the form ὁ θεος και σωτηρ (2 Pet. i. 1.) while in no single case, have I seen (where the sense could be determined) any one of them used, but only of *one* person.

Here then our researches are concluded—as far as they respect the true interpretation of certain expressions in the New Testament.

The further prosecution of the subject through its only remaining step*, the verification of your rule in *general* instances, may best be left to the individual observations of those who are not yet satisfied. All I shall say is, that if I had met with any thing of that kind, in my own progress, which appeared to do otherwise than confirm

* If any one wishes to examine Mr. Sharp's theory by the test of Latin compositions translated into Greek by Greek writers, according to the suggestion in page 9, he may consult different volumes of the Councils. Eusebius Ecc. Hist. l. viii. c. 17. Athanasius, &c.

your

your rule, in its fullest extent, I should not have been withholden from producing it.

I remain, Sir,

With great esteem and respect,

Your very obedient Servant.

P. S. It may not be amiss to subjoin two or three passages similar to that sense of the θεου και κυριου of St. James, according to which both those words are attributed to *one* person.

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1. Πειρασομαι ὑμας πεισαι . . . ὁτι εστι και λεγεται Θεος και Κυριος ἑτερος ὑπερ τον ποιητην των ὁλων, ὁς και Αγγελος καλειται. Justin Martyr. Dialog. p. 161. 275.

2. Τον δε υἱον του Θεου, Θεον και Κυριον ανακηρυττει, και αληθως υἱον ειναι και Θεον διδασκει. Eusebius de Ecclesiast. Theologia, l. ii. c. 10.

3. Ποτε μεν Θεον και Κυριον, ποτε δε και Αγγελον Θεου προσαγορευει· (viz. Moses, speaking of Christ) Θεος μεν και Κυριος των θεοφιλων ανδρων ανηγορευομενος, Αγγελος δε του ανωτατου Πατρος. Euseb. Demonstrat. Evangel. l. i. c. 5. p. 10.

4. Ὁτι μεν Θεος και Κυριος ὁ Χριστος εστιν, οἱ προφηται μαρτυρουσιν. Athanasius, vol. ii. p. 301.

5. Αγαθε

5. Αγαθε ακουται, κατα την σην ὑπονοιαν παρητησατο. (Mat. xix. 16.) Θεος και Κυριος ακουσαι ου πολλῳ μαλλον ωφειλε παραιτησασθαι; (alluding to St. Thomas's testimony, John c. xx. 28.) Chrysostom vol. iii. p. 763.

6. Αυτος ὁ μονογενης του Θεου υἱος Ιησους Χριστος, Θεος και Κυριος, επηγγειλατο. Theodoret. Vol. iii. p. 616. B.

7. Ουκ ηλλοτριωθη του ὑπαρχειν Θεος και Κυριος των ὁλων. (Of Christ,) Nilus Monachus, vol. i. p. 44.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

1 TERTULLIAN. De Pudicitia sect. xvii. p. 569. Omnis, inquit, sermo turpis non procedat ex ore vestro. Item, fornicatio autem et immunditia omnis ne nominetur quidem inter vos, sicut decet sanctos (tanto abest ut excusetur) hoc scientes, quod omnis fornicator aut immundus non habeat Dei regnum.

2. Cyprian. Epist. lii. p. 74. Nec sibi in hoc novi hæretici blandiantur quod se dicant idololatris non communicare quando sint apud illos et adulteri et fraudatores qui teneantur idololatriæ crimine, secundum Apostolum dicentem: Hoc enim scitote intelligentes quia omnis fornicator; aut immundus, aut fraudator, quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Et iterum: Mortificate &c. Col. iii. 5.

3. Ambrose. De Lapsu Virginis Consecratæ, c. vi. p. 311. Fornicatio autem et omnis immunditia nec nominetur inter vos sicut decet sanctos: Hoc scitote intelligentes quia omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus non erit hæres in regno Christi et Dei.

4. Again. Epist. lxiii. p. 1025. Fornicatio autem et omnis immunditia et avaritia nec nominetur in vobis sicut decet sanctos. Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus aut avarus quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.

5. Jerome. Epist. 5. vol. iv. part 2. p. 8. Nolo, Frater charissime, examinato pondere delictorum, minora arbitreris idololatriæ crimine esse quæ diximus. Imo Apostoli disce sententiam qui ait: Hoc enim scitote intelligentes, quia omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, aut fraudator, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.

6. Idacius

6. Idacius Clarus Adversus Varimadum Arianum, p. 271. (Vigilius Tapsensis, b. i. c. 46. p. 404.) Quod vero unum atque commune (regnum) habeant Pater et Filius, ad Ephesios scribens, probat Apostolus, dicens: Hoc enim scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Cum igitur videtis unum esse regnum Patris et Filii, cur vos impio dogmate talia de illo adseverare conamini?

7. Again, same work, p. 273. (Vigil. Tap. p. 407). Item Apostolus: Hoc autem scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Ecce Filium priori loco a Patre ostendimus nominatum.

8. Augustin. Speculum Epistolæ Pauli ad Ephesios, vol. iii. p. 593, 594. The passage quoted, but nothing more than the bare quotation.

9. Also vol. v. p. 947. Quapropter præsumere quis audeat de nomine Christiano et non cum omni obedientia et timore audiat Apostolum dicentem: *Hoc enim scitote cognoscentes quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Nemo vos seducat*, &c.

10. Again, vol. vi. p. 94. Profecto adversus ea nos instruxit, et paratos esse voluit idem Apostolus dicens: Hoc autem scitote intelligentes quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis. Cum ergo audierimus quosdam fornicatores, et immundos, et avaros per ignem salvari, ut habeant hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei; non obsurdescamus contra istum reclamantem et dicentem; omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei; et ne acquiescamus illis verbis contra continuo subjicientem, nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis.

11. Also

11. Also, Vol. vi. p. 669. Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus aut immundus, aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non erit hæres in regno Christi et Dei. Ille se merito Christianum judicet qui hæc præcepta custodit, qui sanctus, humilis et pudicus, et justus est, qui in misericordiæ et justitiæ operibus conversatur.

12. Also vol. ix. p. 84. In this page Augustin first quotes the passage which we have given above (No. 2.) from Cyprian: and afterwards adds: Sed, si possunt, ut dixi, amborum peccata æqualiter appendantur, ignorantis blasphemia, et scientis idololatria, et eadem sententia judicentur ille qui Christum quærendo in veri similem sermonem falsitatis incurrit, et ille qui sciens Christo resistit loquenti per Apostolum: *quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, et avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Cur in illo baptismus et evangelica verba improbantur, in isto autem approbantur.

13. Also vol. ix. p. 86. Hic enim nulla est quæstionis obscuritas, aperte Scriptura clamat, *Neque avari, neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt*; *et, Qui pecuniam suam dedit in usuram* (Psalm xiv. 5.); *et, Omnis fornicator, et immundus, et avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*

14. And lastly, vol. ix. p. 92. Sermo Dei non nos seducit, qui nec tacet, nec parcit, nec ulla adulatione nos decipit: Ideo quippe et alibi dicit, *Hoc autem scitote cognoscentes quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Nemo vos seducat,* &c.

15. Sedulius in loc. p. 998. *Hoc enim scitote:* Hoc contra illos agit, qui solam fidem posse sufficere dicunt. *Aut avarus,* Qui sic honorat divitias ut Deos. Nam in avaro idololatria est quod scripturam ipsius numinis loco colit: ut voracium Deus venter est, ita cupidorum Deus pecunia. *In filios diffidentiæ.* In sodomitas, &c.

16. Fulgentius. Excerpta contra Fabianum p. 63. Inde est quod unum regnum unamque sedem Patris et Filii Apostolica præ-

dicare non cessat auctoritas. Beatus enim Paulus unum regnum Filii et Patris ostendens, ait, *Hoc enim scitote intelligentes, quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habebit hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*

17. Cassiodorus. Expositio in Psalm. cxvi. vol. ii. p. 393. Subjiciunt quoque (Ariani) tertiam falsitatem: Pater semper anterius Filio prædicatur. Et ubi est illud, *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum:* Vides nihil ibi fuisse præpositum: nam et multis locis primus Filius nominatur, ut est illud Apostoli ad Ephesios: *An nescitis, quia omnis fornicator et immundus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei?*

18. Beda in loc. vol. vi. p. 805. Hoc enim scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Posturus est enim oves ad dextram, hoedos ad sinistram, &c.

19. Concilium Calcuthense, Anno Christi 787. Concil. vol. iii. p. 2078. Unde et Apostolus ait: Hoc namque scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut adulter aut avarus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Perpendite namque, &c.

20. Concilium Aquisgranense. Anno Christi 816. ap. Concil. vol. iv. p. 1130.—*neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt.* Item idem: *Omnis fornicator aut immundus, aut avarus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Item idem: *Imitatores mei estote* &c. (1 Cor. iv.)

21. Rabanus Maurus in loc. p. 444. vol. ii. gives first the passage from Hilarius Diaconus, which is our third number (p. 15.) and also at some distance below, our 8th number from Jerome.

22. Bruno Expositio in loc. Ideo hæc non nominentur in vobis quod qui hujusmodi est non habet hæreditatem in regno Dei. Vel ita: Non solum ideo non nominentur in vobis, quod non pertinent ad rem, sed etiam ideo quod auferunt regnum Dei..... Dum enim avarus magis diligit pecuniam quam Deum, eam sibi facit. Fornicator inquam, cum ille non habet hæreditatem in

regno

regno Christi et Dei: et ne ab hæreditate regni alieni sitis videte. Nemo seducat vos inanibus, &c.

23. Anselmus Cantuariensis. Tractatus Asceticus, c. iv. signature F f f f f (not paged.) Quæ etiam parimodo perniciosa esse, et æquali nos a regno Dei exclusione depellere edocet: *Illud autem scitote quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Et iterum *Nolite errare* &c. (1 Cor. vi. 5.)

24. Petr. Lombard in loc.—*in regno Christi et Dei.* Id est in regno cœlorum, quod est Patris et Filii. Sed attende &c.

25. Breviarium Fidei adversus Arianos p. 81. (Paris A.D. 1630. 8vo.) Tamen ut æqualitatem agnoscas, audi in scripturis ubi etiam prior Filius nominatur. Joannes Evangelista ait, In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; in Verbo utique Filium indicavit. Et Apostolus ad Ephesios, *An nescitis quia omnis fornicator, et immundus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Ecce et hic priore loco Filius nominatur.

No. II.

1. AMBROSE. Comment. in loc. Ita ut clarificetur nomen Domini Jesu Christi in vobis, et vos in ipso, secundum gratiam Dei et Domini Jesu Christi]. Gaudio addit et preces, ut quia devoti sunt, dignetur Deus adjuvare eos, ut perficiant opus cœptum ad claritatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ut perseverantia discipulorum testimonium sit magistri ad gloriam.

2. Augustin, vol. iii. p. 597. in Speculo. The text, but without any remark or comment.

3. Sedulius Comment. ad loc. Nothing on the passge.

4. Remigii Comment. ad loc. Nothing on the passage.

5. Fulgentius. p. 698. Nec solum initium bonæ voluntatis et operis Deo assignat Apostolus, verum etiam ab ipso utrumque testatur impleri, dicens: *Ut dignetur vos vocatione sua Deus noster: ut impleat omnem voluntatem bonitatis, et opus fidei in virtute.* Et ut ostenderet hoc per gratiam fieri secutus adjunxit, ut clarificetur nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi in vobis et vos in illo secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi. In illis ergo qui voluntarie salvantur gratia divina operatur ut velint: in illis autem qui nolunt humana duritia perseverat ut nolint.

6. Primasii Comment. ad loc. Secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.] Non secundum virtutem nostram, sed secundum gratiam Dei. Diligenter considera, quòd secundum gratiam Dei dixit, non secundum merita nostra.

7. Bedæ Commentar. ad loc. vol. vi. p. 944.—Secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.] Vocationem ad Dei propositum asserit pertinere. Unde dicit, non secundum opera nostra, sed secundum suum propositum ac gratiam. Et unde item dicit, scimus quoniam diligentibus Deum, omnia cooperantur

tur in bonum his qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti. De qua vocatione ait, ut dignos vos habeat vocatione suâ sanctâ. Rogamus autem vos, fratres, &c.

8. Rabanus Maurus Comment. in loc. p. 488.....*vos in ipso secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.* Pro his quæ talia sunt perseveramus pro vobis orantes, ita ut dignos vos bonorum illorum exhibeat Deus, in quorum et vocati estis fruitionem, implens vos omni bono et confortans ita ut, et in operibus, ostendatis fidem, et illa quæ ab adversariis inferuntur facile sustineatis: sic enim et Christus in vobis gloriosus secundum præsens seculum videbitur; quando cum alacritate acquiescitis pati pro eo: vosque, qui sic firmiter in eo credidistis, futuram fruimini gloriam, quam *sua gratia* sibi credentibus repromisit. Quæ ergo conveniebant dici ad laudem....et ad exhortationem....in hisce visus est (D. Paulus) scientiam consummâsse.

9. Brunonis Expositio ad loc. *Jesu Christi in vobis, et vos in illo, secundum gratiam Domini* (N. Dei not in the text) *nostri Jesu Christi.* Oramus etiam ut nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi in hoc mundo clarificetur in vobis secundum fidem agentibus: et ut vos in futuro in illo clarificemini, in illo remunerante vobis non secundum meritum vestrum; sed secundum abundantem gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

10. Anselmus Laudunensis in Loc. p. 340, *et vos in illo, secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.* Et vos in alia vita clarificemini in illo, et hoc secundum gratiam *Dei nostri Patris et Domini Jesu Christi*; id est secundum quod Pater et Filius per gratiam Sancti Spiritus electis suis gratuita bonitate tribuunt, supra quam mereri possunt.

11. Pet. Lombard in Loc. *et vos in illo* &c. Et vos in futuro clarificemini in illo, et hoc non secundum merita vestra, sed secundum gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi; id est, plus quam digni; vel sicut homo Christus clarificatus.

No. III.

1. HILARIUS Pictav. in Psalm 119. Aleph. p. 246
2. Ejusdem in Psalm 119. Nun. p. 328.
3. Lucifer Calaritan. p. 268.
5. Ejusdem, p. 269.
6. Ambrosii Commentar. in loc.
7. Hieronymi, vol. v. p. 1092.
8. Augustinus in Speculo, vol. iii. p. 600.
9. Sedulii Commentar. in loc. p. 1122.
10. Remigii Commentar. in loc, p. 282.
11. Cassiodorus in psalm. 118. vol. ii. p. 399.
12. Ejusdem, vol. ii. p. 415.
13. Primasii Commentar. in loc. p. 441.
14. Bed. Commentar. in loc. vol. vi. p. 1000.
15. Concilium Cloveshoviæ 2, Anno Christi 747. Concil. vol. iii. p. 1948.
16. Rebani Mauri Comment. in loc.
17. Concilium Calchuthense, Anno Christi 787. Concil. vol. iii. p. 2074.
18. Brunonis Expositio in loc.

No. IV.

THE following are the places where I have observed the text (2 Tim. iv. 1.) in the Latin writers.

1. Ambrosii (i. e. Hilarii Diaconi) Comment. ad loc.
2. Augustini vol. v. p. 356.
3. Ejusdem vol. vi. p. 505.
4. Ejusdem vol. ix. p. 267.
5. Fulgentii de Fide ad Petr. Diacon. p. 490.
7. Ejusdem excerpta contra Fabianum, p. 72.
8. Sedulius ad loc. p. 1126.
9. Cassiodori Complexiones ad loc. p. 83.
10. Primasius ad loc. p. 458.
11. Gregorii Magni, vol. ii. p. 8.
12. Beda ad Loc. vol. vi. p. 1034.
13. Rabanus Maurus ad Loc. p. 517.
14. Bruno ad Loc.
15. Anselmus Laudunensis ad Loc. p. 377.
16. Petr. Lombard ad Loc.

Rabanus Maurus is the only one of the above who reads, "In "conspectu Dei et *Domini* nostri."

No. V.

1. DE Vocatione Omnium Gentium apud Prosper. p. 877. " Item idem in secundâ Epistolâ de fidei perceptione sic loquitur. *Simon Petrus servus et Apostolus Jesu Christi his qui coæqualem nobis adepti sunt fidem per justitiam Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* Unde autem habeatur Spiritus Fidei Joannes Apostolus manifestissime docet, dicens, &c."

2. Beda ad Loc. vol. v. p. 990. " In justitia Dei nostri et Salvatoris Jesu Christi.—Illis ergo scribit Epistolam, qui coæqualem sibi sortiti sunt fidem, et hanc per opera justitiæ exercent ejus videlicet justitiæ, quam non humana prudentia repperit, nec legalis institutio docet, sed per Evangelium loquens Dominus et Salvator noster ostendit, cum ait, *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra* &c."

3. Aquinas ad Loc.

—" Dei nostri, scilicet Christi, secundum Divinitatem effective: et Salvatoris Jesu Christi secundum humanitatem meritorie.

No. VI.

GREEK AUTHORS.

First Century.

1. Patres Apostolici, viz. Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, &c. Apostolicæ Constitutiones, Homiliæ Clementinæ, &c. 2 vol. fol. Antwerp. 1700.

2. Grabe's Spicilegium Patrum. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1698, &c.

Second Century.

3. Justin Martyr. Coloniæ, 1686. fol.

Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo. Edit. Jebb. London, 1719. 8vo.

Apologiæ. Edit. Ashton. Cambridge, 1768. 8vo.

4. Irenæus. Paris, 1710. fol. Edit. Benedictin.

5. Theophilus Antiochenus. Colon. 1686. fol. with Justin Martyr, Tatianus, &c.

6. Tatianus. Colon. 1686. Oxford 1700. Edit. Worth. 8vo.

7. Athenagoras. Colon. 1686.

8. Hermias. Oxford 1700. 8vo.

9. Clemens Alexandrinus. 2 vol. fol. Oxford. 1715. Edit. Potter.

Third Century.

10. Hippolytus. 2 Vol. fol. Hamburgh, 1716. Edit. Fabricius.

11. Origen. Vol. 1st and 2d. Paris, 1733. fol. Edit. Benedictin.

Commentaria. 2 vols. fol. Paris 1679. Edit. Huetius.

See also Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. ii. which contains an accurate transcript of all the quotations from the New Testament in the genuine works of Origen.

12. Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Paris 1622. fol.

13. Methodius Patarensis. Paris 1644. fol.

Fourth Century.

14. Eusebius.

Preparatio Evanglica. Paris, 1628. fol.

Demonstratio Evongelica. Also, Contra Hieroclem, Adversus Marcellum, and De Ecclesiastica Theologia. Paris 1628. fol.

Historia Ecclesiastica. Cambridge, 1720. fol. Edit. Reading.

Commentaria in Psalmos et Hesaiam, Paris, 1706. fol. in the Collectio Nova Patrum Græcorum by Montfaucon.

15. Athanasius. 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1698.

Opuscula et Fragmenta. Paris, 1706. in the Collectio Nova by Mountfaucon.

16. Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, Paris, 1720. fol. Edit. Benedictin.

17. Dionysius Areopagitic. Paris, 1615. fol.

18. Titus Bostrensis, Biblioth. Patrum Front. Ducæi. vol. ii. Latine Ingolstad. 1580. 12mo.

Libri tres contra Manichæos. in Canisii Lection. Antiq. vol. i.

19. Epiphanius. Paris, 1622. 2 vols. fol.

20. Ephræm Syrus. Oxf. 1709. fol.

Opera. Latine per Gerard. Vossium. Colon. 1616. fol.

21. Basilius Magnus, Paris, 1721. 3 vols. fol. Edit. Benedict.

22. Gregory Nyssen. Paris, 1615. 2 vols. fol.

23. Gregory Nazianzen. Paris 1630. 2 vols. fol.

24. Amphilochius Cappadox. Paris 1644. fol.

25. Didymus Alexandrinus.

Enarrationes in Epistolas Canonicas; et De Spiritu Sancto (ex interpretatione Hieronymi) Latine. Colon. 1531. 12mo.

26. Macarius Magnus. Paris, 1621. fol.

27. Nemesius

27. Nemesius. Oxf. 1671.

28. Joannes Hierosolymitanus. Brussels, 1643. fol.

29. Chrysostom. Paris, 1718. 13 vols. fol. Edit. Benedict.

Fifth Century.

30. Asterius Amasenus, in Auctar. Biblioth. Patr. per Combefis. Paris 1648.

31. Marcus Asceta. Paris 1563. 8vo.

32. Victor Antiochenus in Marcum. Ingolstad. 1580. Latinè

33. Philo Carpasius.

Enarratio in Canticum Canticor. Romæ, 1772. 4to.

34. Severianus Syrus, published among the works of Chrysostom.

35. Synesius. Paris, 1633. fol.

36. Isidorus Pelusiota. Paris, 1638. fol.

37. Cyrillus Alexandrinus. 6 vols. fol. Paris, 1638.

38. Theodoret. 5 vols. fol. Paris, 1642.

38*. Theodotus Ancyranus. Paris, 1675. 12mo.

39. Proclus. Romæ, 1630. 4to.

40. Socrates Scholasticus. Paris, 1668.

41. Hermias Sozomenus. Paris, 1668.

42. Nilus Monachus. Romæ, 1668. 2 vols. fol.

43. Basilius Seleuciensis. Paris, 1622. fol.

44 Euthalius. Romæ, 1698. 4to.

Sixth Century.

45. Procopius Gazæus.

In Esaiam. Paris 1580. fol.

In Libros Regum et Paralipomenon. Lug. Bat. 1620. 4to.

46. Joannes Maxentius. Colon. 1526. 12mo.

47. Cosmas Ægyptius. Paris, 1706. fol. in Novâ Collect. Patr. per Montfaucon.

48. Arethas. Paris, 1631. fol.

49. Gregentii Disputatio cum Herbano Judæo. Paris, 1586. 8vo.

50. Anastasius Sinaita.

Dux viæ. Ingolstad. 1606. 4to.

Quæstiones. Ingolstad. 1617. 4to.

In Hexaemeron. Lib. 12. Lond. 1682. 4to.

51. Joannes Climacus. Paris, 1633. fol.

52. Leontius Byzantinus, De Sectis. Basil. 1578. 8vo.

53. Evagrius Scholasticus. Paris, 1673. fol.

Seventh Century.

54. Hesychius Hierosolymitanus. Paris, 1563. 8vo.

55. Antiochus Monachus. Biblioth. Patr. Front. Duc. Paris 1624. vol. i.

56. Andreas Damascenus. Paris 1644. fol.

57. Maximus Confessor. Paris, 1675. 2 vols. fol.

58. Theodorus Presbyter. Genevæ, 1576. 4to.

Eighth Century.

59. Theodorus Studites.

Epistolæ, &c. Paris 1696. Apud Jac. Sirmondi opera. vol. v. fol.

Sermones Catechetici. Latine. Antwerp, 1602. 8vo.

60. Photius.

Bibliotheca. 1611. fol. Edit. Hoeschel.

Epistolæ. Londin. 1651. fol.

Ex Amphilochiis. ap. Wolfii Curas Philolog. in N. Test. vol. v. 4to.

De Divinitate & Incarnatione. Latine. Apud Canisii Lection Antiq. vol. 2.

61. Theodorus Abucara. Ingolstad. 1606. 4to.

62. Petrus Siculus de Manichæorum Hæresi. Ingolstad. 1604. 4to.

Tenth Century.

63. Œcumenius. 2 vols. fol. Paris 1631.

Eleventh

Eleventh Century.

64. Theophanes Cerameus. Paris 1644. fol.

65. Theophylact.

In quatuor Evangelia. Paris, 1635. fol.

In Acta Apostolorum. Colon. 1567. fol.

In Epistolas D. Pauli. Londin. 1636. fol.

Epistolæ. Lugd. Bat. 1617. 4to.

Institutio Regia. Paris 1651. 4to.

Twelfth Century.

66. Euthymius Zigabenus.

In quatuor Evangelia. Latine. Paris, 1544. 8vo.

In Psalmos. Latine. Paris, 1562. 8vo.

Panoplia Dogmatica. Latine. Venet. 1555. fol.

67. Antonius Melissa. Aurel. Allobrog. 1609. fol. ad calcem Stobæi.

68. Theorianus. Basil. 1578. 8vo.

Thirteenth Century.

69. Nicetas Acominatus.

Orthodoxæ fidei Thesaurus. Latine. Genevæ, 1592. 8vo.

70. Germanus Patriarcha. Biblioth. Patr. a Front. Ducæo. vol. ii. Paris, 1624. fol.

Fourteenth Century.

71. Emanuel Calecas.

De Essentia & operatione &c. item, Principia Fidei Orthodoxæ. Paris, 1672. fol. in Auctario noviss. per Combefis.

LATIN

LATIN WRITERS.

Second Century.

1. TERTULLIAN. Paris. 1675. fol.

Third Century.

2. Minucius Felix. Lugd. Bat. 1652. 4to.
3. Cyprian. Paris, 1726. fol. Edit. Benedictin.
4. Novatianus. Oxf. 1724. 8vo.

Fourth Century.

5. Arnobius Afer. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 4to.
6. Lactantius Firmianus. Lugd. Bat. 1660. 8vo.
7. Jul. Firmic. Maternus. Lugd. Bat. 1652. 4to.
8. Hilarius Pictaviensis. Paris, 1693. fol. Edit. Bededictin.
9. Lucifer Calaritanus. Paris, 1568. 8vo.
10. Hilarius Diaconus. Paris, 1686. fol. among the works of Ambrose. (below No. 15.).
11. Phœbadius Contra Arianos, 1570. 8vo.
12. Fab. Mar. Victorinus. Paris, 1630. 8vo.
13. Optatus Milevitanus. Paris, 1700. fol.
14. Pacianus. Romæ, 1564. fol.
15. Ambrose. Paris. 1686. 2 vol. fol. Edit. Benedictin.
16. Jerome. Paris. 1699. 5 vol. fol. Edit. Benedict.
17. Nemesius. De Natura Hominis. Oxf. 1671. 8vo.
18. Philastrius. Helmœstad, 1614. 4to.
19. Faustinus. Oxf. 1678. 8vo.
20. Idacius Clarus. Basil. apud Hæreseolog. p. 253-299.
21. Gaudentius. Biblioth. Max. vol. ii. p. 1.
22. Ruffinus Aquileiensis.

Opuscula. Paris, 1580. fol.

in

In 75 Davidis Psalmos. Lugd. 1750. fol.

23. Augustin. Antwerp, 1700. 11 vols. fol.

Fifth Century.

24. Pelagius. Expositio in Epistolas Paulinas. inter. Operæ Hieronymi.

25. Marius Mercator. Paris, 1673. fol.

26. Leporius. Isaac ex Judæo, et Capreolus. Paris, 1630. 8vo.

27. Maximus Taurinensis. Paris, 1661. fol.

28. Joannes Cassianus. Duaci, 1616. 8vo.

29. Petrus Chrysologus. Paris, 1661. fol.

30. Eucherius. Antwerp, 1602. 8vo.

31 Cœlius Sedulius. Biblioth. Max. vol. i.

32. Vincentius Lirinensis. Cambr. 1689. 12mo.

33. Valerianus. Paris, 1661. fol.

34. Leo 1. Magnus. Paris, 1661. fol.

35. Prosper Aquitanus. Item Pomerius de Vita Contemplativa. Paris, 1711. fol.

36. Remigius Remensis. Same as Nos. 49 and 51.

37. Vigilius Tapsensis. Divione, 1664, 4to.

38. Victor Vitensis. Divione, 1664. 4to.

Sixth Century.

39. Fulgentius. Paris, 1661. fol.

Excerpta ex Fulgentii Libris contra Fabianum Arianum. Paris, 1643. 8vo.

40. Cassiodorus.

Opera. 2 vol. fol. Rotomag. 1679.

Complexiones in Epistolas, Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin. Florence, 1721. 8vo.

41. Facundus Hermianensis. Paris, 1679. fol.

42. Primasius.

In Epistolas D. Pauli. Lugdun. 1537. 8vo.

In Apocalypsin. Colon. 1535. 12mo.

43. Gregorius Magnus. Paris, 1705. 4 vol. fol. Edit. Benedict.

44. Isodorus

44. Isidorus Junior. Colon. Agrippin. 1617.

Seventh Century.

45. Julianus Pomerius. Orthodoxographa. vol. ii. p. 1967, &c.

Eighth Century.

46. Beda. N. examined only the Commentary on St. Paul's, (by many ascribed to Florus Magister,) and on the Catholic Epistles. Works. vol. v.

47. Alcuinus. Paris, 1617. fol.

48 Theodolphus. Paris, 1646. 8vo.

Ninth Century.

49 Haymonis Commentar. in D. Pauli Epistolas. Mogunt. 1614. fol.

50. Rabanus Maurus. Only the Commentary on St. Paul.

51. Remigius Antissiodorensis. Same as No. 49.

Eleventh Century.

52. Lanfrancus. Paris, 1648. fol.

53. Bruno. Expositio in Omnes D. Pauli Epistolas. Paris, 1509.

54. Anselmus Cantuar. Paris, 1721. fol.

Twelfth Century.

55. Anselmi Laudunensis (nonnullis Hervei Dolensis) Commentar. in Epistolas D. Pauli. Colon. 1612. fol.

56. Petri Lombardi Commentarius in omnes D. Pauli Epistolas, 1535. fol.

Thirteenth Century.

57. Thomæ Aquinatis in omnes D. Pauli, et in omnes Canonicas Epistolas, Commentaria. Antwerp, 1591. fol.

COLLECTIONS.

1. ORTHODOXOGRAPHA. Basil. 1569. 2 vol. fol.

2. Hæreseologia. Basil, 1556. fol.

3. Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ. Edit. Basnage. 4 vol. fol: Amsterdam.

4. Bibliotheca Veter. Patrum Græcolatina. Paris, 1624. 3 vol. fol. (Front. Ducæus.)

5. Græcolat. Patrum Bibliothecæ novum Auctarium. per Franc. Combefis. Paris, 1648. 2 vol. fol.

6. Bibliothecæ Græcor. Patrum Auctarium novissimum, per Franc. Combefis. Paris, 1672. fol.

7. Græcia Orthodoxa. Rome, 1652: 2 vol. 4to. per Leon. Allatium.

8. Sirmondi Opera. Paris, 1696. 5 vol. fol.

9. Thesaurus Asceticus per Petr. Possinum. Tolosæ, 1684, 4to.

10. Originum Rerumque Constantinopolitan. manipulus per F. Combefis. Paris, 1664. 4to.

11. Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta. Paris, 1677 3 vol. 4to.

12. Analecta Græca. vol. 1 Lutet. Paris, 1688. 4to.

13. Muratorii Anecdota Græca. Patavii, 1709. 4to.

14. Zacagnii Collectanea Ecclesiæ Græcæ ac Latinæ. tom. 1. Romæ, 1698, 4to.

15. Collectio nova Patrum & Scriptorum Græcorum, Studio Bern. Montfaucon. Paris, 1706, 2 vol. fol.

16. Bibliotheca Coisliniana, Studio D. B. De Montfaucon. Paris, 1715. fol.

17. Conciliorum Collectio Regia, 12 vol. fol. Paris, 1715.

18. Catena Græcor. Patrum in D. Joannem Studio Balthaz. Corderii. Antwerp, 1630. fol.

19. Catena

LATIN WRITERS.

Second Century.

1. TERTULLIAN. Paris. 1675. fol.

Third Century.

2. Minucius Felix. Lugd. Bat. 1652. 4to.
3. Cyprian. Paris, 1726. fol. Edit. Benedictin.
4. Novatianus. Oxf. 1724. 8vo.

Fourth Century.

5. Arnobius Afer. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 4to.
6. Lactantius Firmianus. Lugd. Bat. 1660. 8vo.
7. Jul. Firmic. Maternus. Lugd. Bat. 1652. 4to.
8. Hilarius Pictaviensis. Paris, 1693. fol. Edit. Bededictin.
9. Lucifer Calaritanus. Paris, 1568. 8vo.
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13. Optatus Milevitanus. Paris, 1700. fol.
14. Pacianus. Romæ, 1564. fol.
15. Ambrose. Paris. 1686. 2 vol. fol. Edit. Benedictin.
16. Jerome. Paris. 1699. 5 vol. fol. Edit. Benedict.
17. Nemesius. De Natura Hominis. Oxf. 1671. 8vo.
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20. Idacius Clarus. Basil. apud Hæreseolog. p. 253-299.
21. Gaudentius. Biblioth. Max. vol. ii. p. 1.
22. Ruffinus Aquileiensis.

Opuscula. Paris, 1580. fol.

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CORRIGENDA.

PAGE	5.	*Last line.*	For eel,	*Read* feel.
——	14.	*line* 4.	— τη,	—— τη.
——	14.	— 7.	— νἱοθεσαι	—— νἱοθεσια,
——	35.	— 17.	— γε ενναν,	—— γεεννην.
——	40.	— 4.	— he,	—— Christ.
——	103.	— 12.	Dele Apostolus.	
——	106.	*Last line.*	For ctorinus,	*Read* Victorinus.
——	112.	— 12.	— dictate,	—— deitate.
——	116.	— 23.	— .	—— ,
——	118.	— 13.	— διωνι,	—— ἰδιαν.
——	120.	— 27.	— χαρων,	—— χαραν.
——	142.	— 17.	— Rebapi,	—— Rabani.

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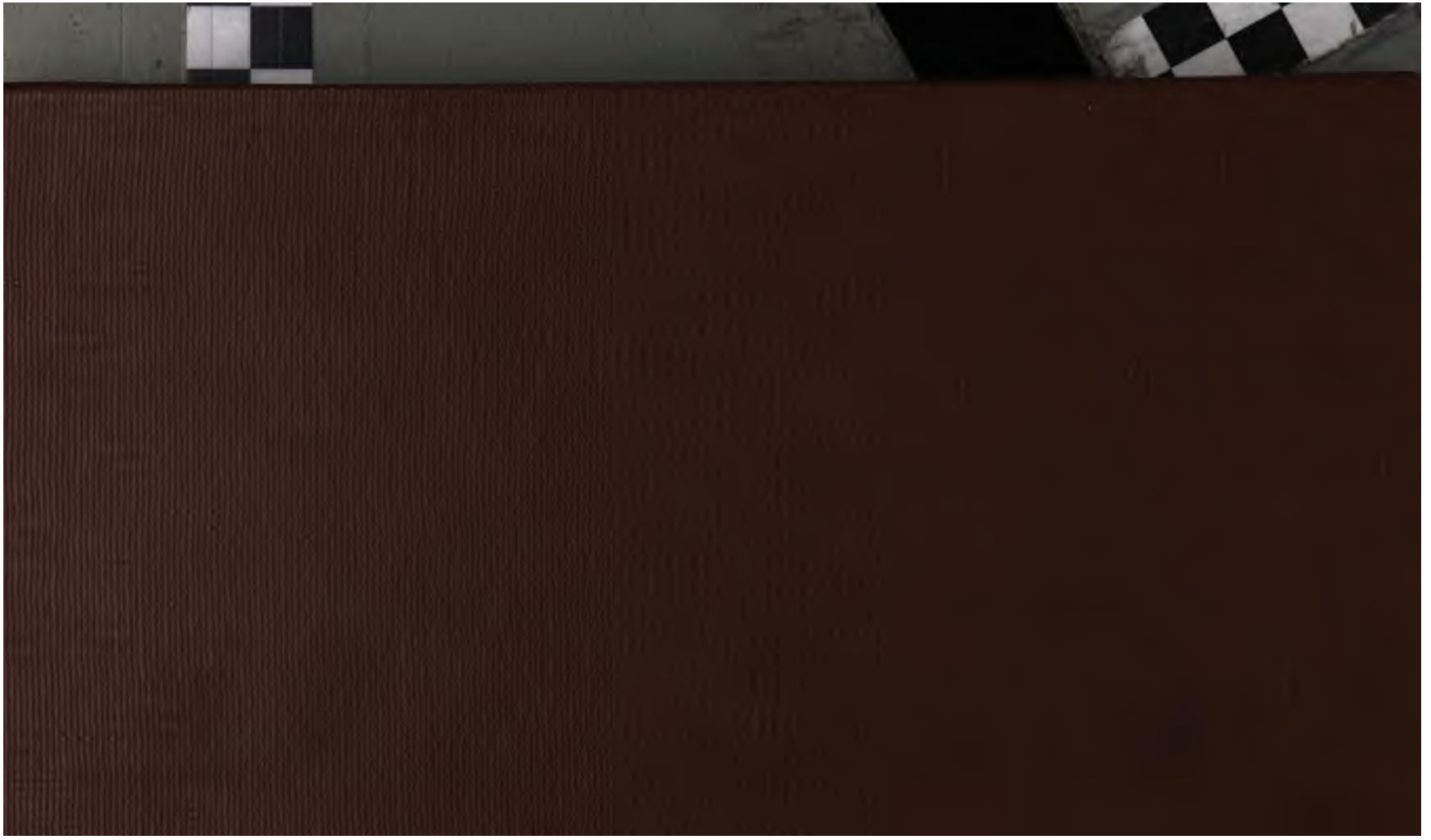
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